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Editors: PETER ALEXANDER, NORMAN DAVIS

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# The Review of English Studies

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## LAZAMON'S SIMILES

By H. S. DAVIES

IN 1878 Karl Regel showed that the use of similes was a striking characteristic of Lazamon's style, and his observation has become one of the more time-honoured verdicts of medieval literary history. In recent years there has been some speculation about the source of these similes, especially the longer ones, since they were so unlike anything either in Anglo-Saxon poetry, or in the little surviving poetry in English contemporary with Lazamon himself. Two possible explanations were put forward a few years ago by the late Professor Tatlock, in a passage whose main purpose was to consider the possibility that Lazamon's reading might have included some Latin classics, among them Virgil:

One thing that reminds one of Virgil is certain long similes, a characteristic embellishment which I have said distinguished Lawman's style from that of classical Anglo-Saxon poetry, where long similes are scarce; he has many short ones, and with Arthur he gives three long and elaborate similes sometimes clustered with shorter; and in the feeling of the moment like Virgil sometimes extending the simile into an imaginative narrative about it. . . . Possibly Lawman may have remembered from long ago the impressiveness of some Virgilian similes, but it may as well be that this sudden growth from a slight embellishment to a glorious feature happened when he surrendered to a mood of exultation over his great hero.<sup>1</sup>

Both suggestions made here seem to me to be right in principle, but wrong in detail. It is certainly right to consider the possibility that Lazamon may have been indebted for his longer similes to some source other than his immediate authority, Wace; but it is most unlikely that this source was Virgil. It is also right to observe that the longer similes are closely connected with Arthur; but this connexion is of a more limited and curious kind than Professor Tatlock seems to have observed.

A closer examination of the manner in which the similes, both short and long, are distributed through the *Brut* shows some very remarkable features, of such size that they emerge quite clearly even from a crude quantitative test like this:<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *The Legendary History of Great Britain* (Berkeley, 1950), p. 494.

<sup>2</sup> It has been compiled mainly from Regel's article in *Anglia*, i (1878), 197 ff. The line numbering is, of course, that in Madden's edition. The length assigned to each simile is the number of lines occupied by the description of the object or situation with which a

Lines in <i>Brut</i>	One-line similes	Similes longer than one line
1-2,000	4	
2-4,000	1	
4-6,000	2	
6-8,000	3	
8-10,000	1	
10-12,000	1	
12-14,000	6	
14-16,000	5	
16-18,000	10	
18-20,000	1	
20-22,000	4	8
22-24,000	2	
24-26,000	3	
26-28,000	3	1
28-30,000	1	
30-33,000	1	1

This table shows that while shorter similes occur fairly evenly, though never very frequently, throughout the poem, the longer similes are quite uncharacteristic of La3amon's style. Most of them are found only in one part of it (actually about 1,700 lines long), placed about two-thirds of the way through the poem.

This sudden appearance of a striking feature of style two-thirds of the way through a long poem is remarkable enough, but by no means incompatible with the general patterns of literary history and the development of other authors. It might, indeed, have been the result of some Virgilian recollection, or of a 'mood of exultation' over Arthur; it might equally well have been the result of growing technical skill, or of some vivid personal experience, such as that which preceded and precipitated Wordsworth's great creative period. It is the virtual disappearance of this striking feature

similarity is being drawn. In one case a two-line simile has been counted as short. This is at 17,427-8:

al swa feor swa a mon  
mahte werpen ænne stan.

This seems to me to have the general effect of a short simile, and it could hardly have been expressed more briefly. In all other cases, the short similes are those of one line only. There was sometimes slight doubt in deciding what kinds of expression should be regarded as similes. My criterion has been the presence, or absence, of a comparison between disparate things or situations. Thus the line 'as if he were a lion' has been counted as a simile, while the phrase 'as if he were mad' has not, since it does not compare disparate things, but serves only as a means of describing the mood and actions of the same man. On the same principle, expressions like 'loved as his own son, as his own life' have not been counted as similes. The only case about which doubt remained was at 27,455, 'as if heaven would fall'. It was not included.

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of style in the remaining third of the poem that is really curious, and at odds with the assumptions commonly accepted about the way an author's style and personality may develop. It is quite contrary, both to the general run of literary history, and to common sense, that a poet who has been carried away into a highly successful technical innovation, either by recollections of another writer, or by some vital change in his own mood or personality, should completely forget it shortly afterwards. Indeed it is far more common—and likely—that the technical device is repeated, when the imaginative and emotional causes which first produced it have ebbed away. Wordsworth again will serve as an example.

The abruptness and completeness of the disappearance of long similes in the *Brut* is indeed almost startling. The table above shows that two of them occur in the last third of the poem, but of these, one is only three lines long (30,321-3), and its subject is a wild boar; it is possible that it should be regarded as in some sense an echo or reminiscence of another three-line simile about a wild boar within the critical patch, at 21,262-4, but, on the other hand, single-line boar similes are common throughout the poem (e.g. 1,687, 1,887, 7,503, 25,832) and it looks more like a slight expansion of this recurrent image. The other outlying simile, however, at 27,642, concerns the wind, a much rarer subject for similes in the poem. Indeed, the only other example occurs in the critical patch, at 20,130, and it might not unreasonably be regarded as an attempt to recapture an earlier mood and effect.<sup>1</sup> The existence of this single possible exception, however, only serves to emphasize the complete disappearance of the long simile as a recurring feature of style in the last third of the poem; and it is in any case both shorter and less vivid than the notable series of long similes drawn from hunting and fishing between lines 20,000 and 22,000.

The sudden appearance, and equally sudden disappearance, of the long similes do not suggest the influence of any general literary model, such as Virgil, for there seems no good reason why such an influence should have made itself felt in this short part of the poem, and nowhere else. They do, on the other hand, very strongly suggest that in this part of his poem, and nowhere else, La3amon was under the immediate influence of a particular model, a source which he was here using in addition to Wace.

<sup>1</sup> The two similes are as follows:

Forð we biliue  
peines ohte.  
alle somed heom to  
alle we sculleð wel don.  
& heo uorð hælden  
swa þe hæge wode  
weieð hine mid mæine.

(20,130-6; not in MS. Otho)

Æfne þan worde  
swulc hit þe wind weore.  
he praste to þan fihte  
swa þode doð on felde.  
þenne he þat dust heze  
aziueð from þere eorðe.

(27,642-7)

This suggestion is strengthened by a closer examination of the connexion, noted by Tatlock, between the longer similes and Arthur. The pattern of his achievements in Lazamon is broadly the same as that in his immediate source, *Le Roman de Brut*, by Wace, which in turn was adapted mainly from Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum Britanniae*. There were three quite separate campaigns, the first against the Saxons in England, the second against the Romans in France, and the third against Mordred back in England. But it is only in describing Arthur's exploits in the first of these campaigns that Lazamon uses long similes. It is surely most unlikely that 'this sudden growth from a slight embellishment to a glorious feature' was due to a surrender 'to a mood of exultation over his great hero', for the reasons for feeling exultation over the defeat of the Romans were at least as great as those for being exultant over the defeat of the Saxons. Indeed, the Roman campaign was in Lazamon, as it had been in Geoffrey and in Wace, the carefully designed climax of Arthur's glory. If Arthur's prowess was not enough to produce long similes in the one, there can be no good reason for supposing that it produced them in the other. Again, a more natural supposition is that in his account of this campaign, and nowhere else in his work, Lazamon was under the influence of some source other than Wace.

Further evidence in favour of this supposition, and a little more information about the probable nature of this source, can be gathered from a comparison between the account of this campaign given by Geoffrey and Wace and that given by Lazamon. All three give the same general picture of the operations: as soon as Arthur became king he marched against a force of Saxons, Picts, and Scots near York, led by Colgrim. He defeated them, and besieged Colgrim in York itself. Colgrim's brother, Baldulf, failed to raise the siege. When, however, a large new Saxon army invaded the north under the leadership of Childric, Arthur withdrew to London, to take the advice of his counsellors. Having mustered his army there he marched to the Midlands, where the combined forces of the Saxons were laying siege to a town in Lincolnshire. There he defeated them, and drove them to take refuge in a wood. They were starved into surrender, and allowed to sail away, having given hostages and promises never to return. At sea, however, they changed their minds, sailed round the coast, and landed at Totnes, whence they ravaged the south-west. In the meantime Arthur had turned his attention once more to the Picts and Scots in the north, but on hearing the news of the new Saxon invasion he came south at once, and defeated the invaders near Bath.

But within this general picture Lazamon's account differs in many details from that given in Geoffrey and in Wace. These differences are most clearly seen in the description of the last battle, near Bath.

The first difference, trivial in itself, is in the actual course of the battle.

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In all three accounts it is divided clearly into two phases (in Geoffrey they are fought on successive days). In the first phase the Saxons are driven from their siege positions round Bath, and take refuge on a hill; in the second the hill is stormed and the Saxons slain. In Geoffrey and in Wace the Saxon leader Childric does not flee until the end of the second phase, when his two chief lieutenants, Colgrim and Baldulf, have been killed. In Lazamon, Childric flees at the end of the first phase, leaving Colgrim and Baldulf on the hill to face Arthur's final assault.

Taken by itself this difference would not amount to much—to no more, perhaps, than the kind of rearrangement which might naturally suggest itself to a translator and adaptor with his own sense of dramatic effect. But the tactical differences in the conduct of the battle are inseparably linked with differences in the psychological background, and these appear to be of much greater significance. In all three accounts the battle is accompanied by much speech-making, but there are striking differences in the content of the speeches, and in their allocation among the *dramatis personae*. In Geoffrey, Arthur himself opens the engagement by making a short speech, referring to the breaking of faith by the Saxons and to the duty of vengeance; this is followed by a much longer address from Saint Dubricius, one of the most prominent clergymen in the *Historia*, archbishop of the non-existent see of Caerleon on Usk.<sup>1</sup> This address presents the coming battle in the light of a Christian crusade against pagans, and makes to the warriors the formal promise that, if they should be killed, 'sit ei mors illa omnium delictorum suorum penitentia & ablutio'.<sup>2</sup> The speech of Dubricius, in fact, is a very clear example of Geoffrey's skill in suggesting that Arthur was a crusader, and in adapting his material both to the prejudices of the average twelfth-century reader, and to his apparent design of providing the Anglo-Norman monarchy with a mythological background comparable with that enjoyed by the French monarchy through the *chansons de geste*.<sup>3</sup>

In Wace there is much less talking, and it is all done by Arthur, for Dubricius is not present. Arthur's speech, developed from the very short opening address in Geoffrey's account and devoted entirely to the theme of vengeance, is spoken, not before the first phase of the battle, but as a prelude to the assault on the hill which constitutes the second phase.

In Lazamon the speech-making again falls to Arthur, in the absence of the notable clergyman, but it is differently managed both in timing and in

<sup>1</sup> Tatlock gives a good account of Geoffrey's devices for dignifying this prelate and his non-existent see (pp. 245-6, 264-5).

<sup>2</sup> The *Historia Regum Britanniae*, ed. A. Griscom (London, 1929), p. 438.

<sup>3</sup> For Geoffrey's motives, see Tatlock, ch. xviii, and G. H. Gerould, 'King Arthur and Politics', *Speculum*, ii (1927), 33-51.

content. Before the first phase he speaks quite briefly on vengeance and broken faith, and it is worth noting that this reverts to the order given in Geoffrey, though the actual content of the speech is much more like that placed by Wace before the second phase. As a prelude to the second phase of the battle, however, Lazamon gives a long exultation by Arthur over his enemies, over their defeat in the first part of the battle, their coming destruction, and the flight of Childric, who is already being hunted to his separate death. It is this last matter for exultation which so clearly links Lazamon's tactical innovation with his psychological novelties. Had Childric not fled after the first phase of the battle, this set of taunts could not have been uttered in this place.

Upon this psychological innovation in Lazamon's account of the battle there are three main comments to be made. First, it is altogether more barbaric and primitive in feeling than Wace's well-wrought, but rational, plea for vengeance because of broken faith and slain kindred; and it is in a different moral and mental world from Geoffrey's crusading Christianity. Such a backward-looking transformation surely suggests the pressure of modes of feeling, and of literary models, foreign to the spirit of his two predecessors.

Secondly, Arthur's exultations on this occasion are quite unlike his conduct towards his other enemies. True, shorter taunts in the same spirit are found scattered through the poem, much as the shorter similes are scattered through it; but they are spoken by minor heroes, not by the king himself. He always behaves with magnanimity and restraint. For example, after the great victory over the Romans:

Word came to Arthur in his tent that the emperor was slain and his life taken. Arthur had a tent pitched in the midst of a broad field and had Luces the emperor carried there, and had him covered with golden palls, and set a guard for him for three whole days. In the meanwhile, he had made a very rich work, a long chest, and he covered it all with gold. And he laid in it Luces of Rome. . . Then did Arthur yet more, the noblest of all the Britons. He had search made for all the great men, kings and earls, and the greatest barons, who were slain in the battle. He had them buried with great pomp. . . But he made three kings bear Luces the emperor. . . .<sup>1</sup>

Similarly, there is no vaunting over the successive defeats and flights of Mordred in the third of Arthur's campaigns. It is only, in fact, in this first campaign that Arthur himself utters these barbaric exultations over his foes.

Thirdly, these exultations are very closely linked with the longest and

<sup>1</sup> 27,844-59. Similar restraint is shown by Aurelius in his treatment of the dead Hengest at 16,718-25.

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most striking of the similes. Indeed, their main substance is precisely these similes. The only long simile not connected with the battle at Bath is that which describes the plight of the Saxons after the earlier battle near Lincoln, and here too it is the main substance of an elaborate exultation by Arthur himself over his defeated enemies.

The main facts, then, may be summarized thus:

- (1) The famous long similes occur only in one small part of the *Brut*.
- (2) They are closely bound up with Arthur's exultations over dead enemies, and such exultations occur only in this same small part of the work.
- (3) Certain minor peculiarities in Lazamon's account of the battle of Bath are linked with the arrangement of the exultations and with the long similes.
- (4) This particular part of the poem is quite self-contained, for it deals with one of the three Arthurian campaigns, and with nothing else.

No doubt all these facts, taken separately, are susceptible of many different explanations. But they cannot be taken separately, for they are all closely interlinked in the style and matter of the poem. And taken together, they suggest the very strong probability that in this part of his work, Lazamon was writing under the influence of some source other than Wace.

So far as Lazamon himself is concerned, there would have been little point in pursuing this line of argument so fully and so far. Its main effect, perhaps, is to deprive him of some of the credit for a number of descriptions which greatly console his modern readers; but it leaves his other merits untouched, and adds to them the by no means negligible commendation of being a man with sense enough to know when he was on to a good thing. The reason for pursuing this inquiry into the origin of his similes so carefully is that it seems to offer a chance of adding new material to the age-long dispute about Geoffrey of Monmouth, and his possible use of genuine traditions.

It will already have become apparent that if some source bearing on British-Saxon battles was available to Lazamon at the end of the twelfth century, then Geoffrey of Monmouth might have known it, in the same or in similar form, some seventy years earlier. The line of argument followed above, however, leads to the conclusion not only that he might have known of it, but that he must have known of it, for these reasons:

- (1) The stylistic and psychological peculiarities in this part of Lazamon are closely linked with a particular series of battles, especially those at Lincoln and at Bath.



(2) If this source did not present these peculiarities together with this particular series of battles, why should he have made any such connexion, and have made it so exclusively? If the long similes and exultations were there presented in connexion with some other series of battles, so that Lazamon felt them to be detachable from their immediate context, they would surely have been used much more widely in the *Brut*, in the other campaigns of Arthur, and indeed in the very numerous engagements which occur throughout the work (and which, it must be admitted, stand in artistic need of all the variety which could have been given them). Their concentration in this one part of the *Brut* strongly suggests that in the source they were linked with this campaign, or at any rate with one which followed the same general pattern.

(3) But the general pattern of the campaign is the same in Geoffrey, in Wace, and in Lazamon. The usual assumption has been that Wace worked from Geoffrey, and Lazamon from Wace, so that the similarities between them are the result of a direct and single line of descent. If Lazamon, however, was also working from another source describing this series of battles, he was able to accept the general pattern of the Geoffrey-Wace account, not on their mere authority, but because it agreed in general with this other source. Yet how could it have agreed with this other source, unless Geoffrey himself had known it, and based his own description of these battles upon it?

If this conclusion can be accepted, at any rate as a reasonable working hypothesis, it is natural to ask whether there are any signs, in Geoffrey's account of these battles, that he was working from a source broadly resembling that which Lazamon used later. The answer to this question, so far as any answer is possible, seems to turn mainly on two kinds of evidence—the precise manner in which Geoffrey transformed the accounts of Arthur's campaign given in the other early sources which are known to us, and which we know him to have used, and the history of the naming of the town now called Bath. Both are fairly intricate, and since they have no connexion other than their relevance to this inquiry, it will be convenient to deal with them separately at first.

Trustworthy records establish beyond doubt that the Roman name for Bath was *Aquae Sulis*. Reasonable conjecture suggests that at some time after the departure of the Romans, it came to be called something like *Akeman*, for in some parts of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle it is named *Acemannesceaster* and *Acemannesburh*. The more usual way of naming it in the Chronicle, however, is by some reference to the hot baths which are the town's most permanent and striking attribute—the forms used are (*æt*) *Baðum*, *Baðan*, *Baðon*, *Baðe*, *Bathe*, and *Bapanceaster*. From these Saxon names the Latin chroniclers contemporary with Geoffrey had evolved a

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number of forms. The most common was *Bathonia* (William of Malmesbury, William of Newburgh, and Bath civic records), but many other forms were in use, such as *Badhe*, *Bathan*, and *Bathe* (Henry of Huntingdon), and *Batta* (*Gesta Stephani*).<sup>1</sup> In Domesday, *Bade* was the usual form, but *Bada* is found once in Exon Domesday.

Geoffrey places the last battle in his account of this campaign near *Bado*, obviously with the intention of equating it with the battle of the 'mons Badonis' of the older authorities, Gildas and 'Nennius'. The usual comment upon this ingenious procedure is that it could not possibly have been justified, because at the time when the Gildan battle of Badon was fought, the place was not yet called Bath, or anything like it.<sup>2</sup> The connexion between Badon and Bath, then, is a pure fabrication of Geoffrey's, emanating from his well-proven habit of eliciting bad history from worse etymology, and prompted here by the fact that some of the names for Bath used by his fellow chroniclers came so close to the word *Badon*. This is no doubt the right view of the matter, but it does not exclude the possibility that Geoffrey's motive in establishing the equation may have been something more solid than an etymological fancy. If he knew, from a source like that used by Lazamon, that a series of encounters between Britons and Saxons had ended in a British victory near Bath, he may have concluded quite naturally that this was the battle of Badon which he found in Gildas and 'Nennius'. Since this source presumably derived from local tales (or was itself a local tale), no difficulty over the form of the place-name need have arisen. Its basic statement would have been 'the battle was fought here', and 'here' might have been *Aquae Sulis*, or *Akeman*, or *Badon*, to suit the time when the tale was repeated. There are, in fact, two quite different ways of viewing Geoffrey's equation of Bath with Badon. The first would assume that his only starting-point was the name of the battle as he found it in Gildas and 'Nennius', and that he managed to provide a locality for it by a little jiggery-pokery with the Latin names for Bath found among his contemporaries. The second would assume that he was

<sup>1</sup> For the forms of the names in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle see Earle-Plummer (Oxford, 1899), ii. 161; for those in the Latin Chronicles, the indexes to the editions in the Rolls Series. For the *Gesta Stephani* I have used the edition by K. R. Potter (London, 1955). The main reference there (at p. 37) is worth quoting, since it has some interesting similarities to Geoffrey's references to the town, and seems to show some consciousness of a problem about the name: 'Est civitas a Bristoa vi miliaria distans, ubi fonticuli per occultas fistulas aquas, ex humano ingenio et artificio calefactas, ex abstrusis terrae visceribus sursum . . . emanant. . . . Quae civitas Batta vocatur, quod ex Anglica lingua proprietate trahens vocabulum, Balneum interpretatur.' For the civic records see *Municipal Records of Bath*, ed. A. J. King and B. H. Watts (London, 1885). The frontispiece is a photograph of a charter dated 1189, giving the form *Bathonia*. The civic seals, said to be older, give the same form.

<sup>2</sup> This comment was made, and ably argued, by Professor Earle in a useful chapter contributed to *Handbook to Bath*, ed. J. W. Morris (Bath, 1888).

faced by the task of reconciling—perhaps conflating would be a better term—two quite different authorities which he supposed to bear on the same subject; on the one hand, Gildas and 'Nennius' mentioned a great battle at Badon, and 'Nennius' went even further, in describing it as the last and greatest victory of Arthur over the Saxons; on the other hand, his Lazamon-like source told him of a series of British-Saxon battles culminating in the British victory at Bath. The second view is the only possible one, if the hypothesis of the Lazamon-like source is accepted.

It seems to be confirmed to some extent by the remarkable manner in which the equation between Badon and Bath is established in the *Historia*. It is built up through a series of three references, widely separated in the narrative, and not in any other respect connected one with another. The first mentions *Bado* as a place with hot medicinal baths, but gives no topographical information whatever; the second mentions the hot baths again, and adds that the place is somewhere near the Severn; while the third, omitting now all mention of the baths, indicates that *Bado* was somewhere near the Severn, and adds that it was in Somerset. It should be noted that if either of the first two references is ignored, the equation is not made at all; all three must be taken together to make *Bado* into Bath. The first two, moreover, are almost certainly inventions of Geoffrey's; the first mentions the city's founder, Bladud, and weaves around him a little fable with scraps from Solinus and necromancy, while the second is from the highly suspect passage giving the Prophecies of Merlin.<sup>1</sup> It is not unreasonable to suppose that both of them were designed with the object of leading up to the Badon-Bath equation, given in the third reference describing the battle itself.<sup>2</sup>

On the assumption that Geoffrey was merely indulging his capacity for extracting fabulous history from bad etymology, it is not easy to understand why he should have put forward this particular equation in so roundabout a manner, and have made it depend on this tortuous concatenation of separate references. His care and circumspection, however, would

<sup>1</sup> A deeper plunge into the problems associated with this part of the *Historia* does not seem to be essential to the present purpose.

<sup>2</sup> It seems probable that Geoffrey himself used the form *Bado*, but it is not quite certain. In Faral's edition of the *Historia* (*La Légende arthurienne* (Paris, 1929)) the form *Bad* is given in the Bladud passage (p. 98), *Bado* in the other two (pp. 195, 232). Other manuscripts collated by Hammer, *Historia Regum Britanniae, A Variant Version* (Cambridge, Mass., 1951), give *Bada* and *Bathonia* in the same passage. It is just possible that further examination of the horde of manuscripts would show other forms of the name. It is perhaps worth noting that in the Bladud passage the ancient name of *Bado* is given as 'kaerbadum'. I have not felt the need to explore this, in view of Professor Jackson's opinion that the identification was a pure invention of Geoffrey, representing neither fact nor tradition. ('Once Again Arthur's Battles', *M.P.*, xliii (1945), 44-57.) The three *Bado* references in Griscom's edition of the *Historia* are on pp. 261, 390, and 437. The first is omitted from the index.

be entirely natural on the alternative assumption, that he was making an ingenious—but quite sincere—attempt to reconcile two rather different sources of information bearing on what he took to be the same matter.

The same quality of circumspection is even more marked in his handling of the 'Nennian' account of Arthur's campaign against the Saxons. This notorious list of battles purports to name twelve great victories, one on the river Glein, four on the river Dubglas, one in the region of Linnuis, one on the river Bassas, one at the wood Celidon, said to be called by the Britons Cat Coit Celidon, one near the castle Guinnion, one at the city called Cair Lion, one on the bank of the river called Tribruit, one on the mountain Bregouin or Cat Bregon, and the last at 'mons Badonis'.<sup>1</sup> Around this list of names a considerable literature of surmise and counter-surmise has gathered, ending in the general scepticism thus expressed by Professor Jackson:

It looks very much as if, in writing about Arthur, Nennius or his source knew only that he had won twelve famous victories. Not having their names by any trustworthy tradition, and not bothering himself with scruples as to where they were, he searched his memory for any battles of olden time about which he had vaguely heard—so vaguely that one of them was really a British defeat, the battle of Chester about A.D. 616, long after Arthur's time.<sup>2</sup>

If this is the right view of the 'Nennian' account, then one of Geoffrey's starting-points was an ill-sorted heap of placeless names, quite unconnected with any coherent campaign. What emerges, however, from his conflation of 'Nennius' with his LaȜamon-like source is the remarkably credible series of battles described above, all more or less firmly located, and together making up a coherent strategic sequence.

This transformation is effected by leaving out most of the 'Nennian' clap-trap. Of the nine place-names offered him, Geoffrey preserved only three—the river Dubglas (he writes Duglas) which is placed somewhere near York; the wood Celidon, placed near Lincoln; and Badon, which is turned into Bath. This procedure is not easy to reconcile with the view that Geoffrey's main talent was for constructing fictional history on the basis of bad etymology. Why, on such a view, should he have kept only three of the 'Nennian' names? It is surely more reasonable to suppose that he was making a genuine, if misguided, attempt to reconcile the 'Nennian' account with his LaȜamon-like source, and that he did so by trying to fit the three main battles of the latter with the three most likely looking names given in the former.

<sup>1</sup> I have followed, in the main, the text given in Mommsen's edition, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* (Berlin, 1894), but Professor Jackson has been kind enough to advise me on the best forms of the names.

<sup>2</sup> *M.P.*, xliii (1945), 57.

The usual view of Geoffrey's talent is, of course, held with good reason. In many parts of the *Historia* he relied heavily on fancy to fill in the lacunae of fact. That he often did so, however, is not proof that he always did so. In some other parts of the work he seems to have made a similar attempt to turn fragmentary and (to him) almost unintelligible information into something more like a coherent story. Professor Piggott has shown that the list of the pre-Roman kings of Britain was based on Welsh genealogies which Geoffrey may have found in some copy of 'Nennius'. His comment is very apposite to the view suggested above of Geoffrey's approach to his authorities on Arthur:

Considered as a work of pure fiction, section II of the *Historia* fails to convince. Behind the legends and the fantasies which might by themselves be plausibly connected into an agreeable fiction there are constant evidences of something extraneous asserting its existence, something which prevented the author from making a successful composition, something which had a restraining influence upon even Geoffrey's exuberant imagination. Incompletely appreciating their content and their significance, but with a vague feeling that they must at all costs be embodied in his narrative, Geoffrey made the best he could of the impossible material of the genealogies, but his best could not conceal the inevitable indigestibility of his source.<sup>1</sup>

It was, it seems to me, in very much the same spirit that Geoffrey treated his two authorities, the 'Nennian' account of Arthur's battles, and the other tradition dealing with the three battles between Britons and English. And he made a rather better job of them than he had done of the Welsh genealogies. He preserved the essential coherence of the campaign given in his Lazamon-like source; but he managed to overlay it with enough 'Nennian' names to incorporate it in the story of Arthur himself.

There is one further, and other, kind of evidence for this view. It arises from a consideration of Lazamon's language and style. The 'long' similes in the *Brut* are quite untypical of the poetic styles which Lazamon is likely to have known—those of Old English, Latin, or French. They are least unlikely to have arisen, then, in conditions peculiar and local, where one or other of these languages was spoken, and possibly written. And much the most likely of the three languages to have served as the vehicle for this stylistic peculiarity was English. Lazamon knew Latin, as a cleric, though there is no evidence to suggest that he knew it any better than did the average minor cleric of his time. He knew French, well enough to make good use of Wace. But as Tatlock has rightly emphasized, he belonged to the English popular tradition of verse, and the *Brut* should be regarded as 'the best indication of the kind of narrative poetry which most English

<sup>1</sup> Stuart Piggott, 'The Sources of Geoffrey of Monmouth', *Antiquity*, xv (1941), 281.

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speakers listened to, almost from Alfred to the adoption of the French manner'.<sup>1</sup>

There is, however, an obvious difficulty in assuming that his 'source' was in English. How could a story so completely pro-Celtic in substance and in its attitude to Britons and English have been preserved in the English language, either orally or in writing?

There is one part of England, Wessex, in which such things not only might have happened, but are generally supposed to have happened. Historians, archaeologists, and philologists are agreed that their different kinds of evidence point to a stronger and longer survival of British traditions in Wessex than in any other part of southern and eastern England,<sup>2</sup> and philologists especially have been led to suppose that they persisted even when the dominant language had become English. Fifty years ago, Loth wrote:

Il faut remarquer que les traditions brittoniques devaient s'être conservées chez des populations du Wessex entièrement saxonisées au point de vue de la langue, mais où la fusion des éléments celtiques et saxons s'était faite pacifiquement, par exemple en Somerset, où le brittonique était encore parlé couramment au VII-VIII<sup>e</sup> siècle.<sup>3</sup>

Here, then, are to be found special conditions which explain the apparent paradox of the survival of Celtic stories and sympathies in the English language. And it may be that in these same special and local conditions, the 'long' simile arose, as a peculiar feature of English style, presumably in poetry.

This is also the area most likely, on other grounds, to have preserved the 'source' used by Geoffrey and by Laȝamon, for these reasons:

(i) Somerset is the region in which the series of Arthurian battles against the Saxons reaches its climax, and attains its most realistic setting. In Laȝamon's version especially there is the mention of the Avon, closely associated with one of the most remarkable of the 'long' similes. If the memory of these battles had been preserved in Somerset, it would be natural that their topographical detail should grow more definite as the events described approached Bath.

(ii) It was a region readily accessible to Geoffrey himself, for he seems

<sup>1</sup> *Manly Anniversary Studies* (Chicago, 1923), pp. 10-11.

<sup>2</sup> See, for example, J. N. L. Myres, *Roman Britain and the English Settlements* (Oxford, 1937), pp. 446-7, and G. J. Copley, *The Conquest of Wessex in the Sixth Century* (London, 1954), pp. 65-70.

<sup>3</sup> Introduction to *Les Mabinogion* (Paris, 1913). More modern research has confirmed Loth's view, and added greatly to the evidence upon which it rested. An admirable account of it may be found in Kenneth Jackson's *Language and History in Early Britain* (Edinburgh, 1953), esp. p. 239.

to have written at least some of the *Historia* in Oxford. And Lazamon was a priest higher up the Severn, at no greater distance away.

(iii) It is in Wessex that Professor Piggott, in his remarkable suggestion that Geoffrey's account of Stonehenge may embody a truthful ancient tradition, was led to assume the survival of memories far older than any concerning Arthur, or the battles between Britons and Saxons.<sup>1</sup>

Much of the difficulty, and the entertainment, of Monemutensian studies rests, not so much in the manipulation of a large and heterogeneous mass of facts, as in the constant exercise of discrimination between mere coincidences and possible connexions, or between possible connexions and probable ones. Some of the suggestions made here certainly fall within the first of these fields for discrimination, but others, perhaps, may lie within the second.

<sup>1</sup> *Antiquity*, xv (1941), 305-19.

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## EMBLEMS OF TEMPERANCE IN *THE FAERIE QUEENE*, BOOK II

By A. D. S. FOWLER

IT was Spenser's invariable practice to build into the imagery of *The Faerie Queene*, at strategic points, the traditional emblems of the virtue whose legend he was writing. These emblems must once have helped to make at least the main drift of his allegory widely intelligible; but unfortunately it no longer works like that. In Book II, where emblems are heavily relied on for structure as well as for imagery, either their existence is now not even noticed, or else they are treated as mere surface decoration. Yet they are essential to Spenser's method, which is oblique, working indirectly through details. The golden set-square, the 'norm of temperance',<sup>1</sup> for instance, is only once mentioned explicitly, when Guyon says that 'with golden squire' the virtue 'can measure out a meane' between the fleshly death of Mordant and the self-accusing death of Amavia (II. i. 58). Because it is used in the geometrical construction of the mean proportional, the square is a symbol for the virtue by which Guyon will continually make the moral construction of the golden mean. The castles of Medina and Alma, however, are both founded on the same mathematical principle, and the set-square is a mason's instrument; so that from one point of view all the closely related architectural and geometrical images in the Book can be regarded as extensions of the emblem.<sup>2</sup> The bridle, a commoner emblem of temperance, is equally unobtrusive. Guyon has a horse with 'gorgeous barbes' (II. ii. 11) called Brigador (v. iii. 34)—a name which means Golden Bridle (*briglia d'oro*).<sup>3</sup> And this emblem, too, is functional; for it is Braggadocchio's theft of Brigador which precipitates Guyon into the

<sup>1</sup> Achille Bocchi, *Symbolicarum quaestionum libri quinque* (Bologna, 1574), Embl. CXLIV, p. 145, in which the *norma temperantiae* is handed to a prince, is particularly apt as illustration. The square was as often an emblem of justice as of temperance; Spenser may have regarded the one virtue as essential to the other.

<sup>2</sup> Mean proportionals were actually used in Renaissance architecture: see R. W. Wittkower, *Architectural Principles in the Age of Humanism* (London, 1949), Pt. IV, 'The Problem of Harmonic Proportion in Architecture'.

<sup>3</sup> Yet Warton thought it merely a pompous name 'on the affectation so common in books of chivalry'. For the bridle emblem see Ripa, *Iconologia* (Padua, 1611), pp. 508 f.; and E. Mâle, *L'Art religieux de la fin du Moyen Âge* (Paris, 1925), pp. 313 ff. and figs. 168, 173, 175.



pedestrian adventures which follow: that is to say, it is originally through pride (Braggadocchio) that the Platonic horse of man's desires ceases to be bridled by temperance.<sup>1</sup> I shall be solely concerned here, however, with a third emblem of temperance, which is perhaps the commonest of all—the pouring of water into wine.<sup>2</sup> This emblem makes the least obvious appearance, but only because it is developed on a scale we do not expect; it is hidden, only because most deeply structural.

The very first extended image in the Book is one of water: the nymph's fountain. This fountain of tears from the eyes of a petrified nymph not only occasions Mordant's death, but proves mysteriously immiscible with the blood of Amavia on Ruddymane's hands. The obscurity here, as so often in Spenser, is the result of compression: he has fused two emblematic fountains which apart would have been less difficult, if less original. We find them partly disengaged, as it happens, in a well-known emblem by Herman Hugo. Hugo portrays repentance as a seated female figure—Anima, the human soul—with a stream of tears issuing from her eyes and hair, as she faces a fountain in the form of a petrified nymph, from whose head and outstretched hands water flows into a large pool.<sup>3</sup> This is a visual rendering of Jer. ix. 1: 'Oh that my head were waters, and mine eyes a fountain of tears.' For epigram, Hugo gives Anima's prayer to be metamorphosed into a fountain, like Acis, Biblis, and Achelous; all of them mythological figures who, like Spenser's nymph, became rivers. (This allusion is reflected in the engraving by Boetius a Bolswert: the iconography of his petrified nymph, not to speak of the river-god in the background, is obviously influenced by illustrations of the *Metamorphoses*.) The streams of water from the nymph's outstretched hands, however, are neither from Jeremiah nor, solely, from the tradition of Ovidian illustration. They belong to another symbolic fountain, the Fountain of Life, as a glance at a later emblem of Hugo's will show (III. xli). In it, Christ-Eros is a fountain, with spouts issuing from his outstretched hands, side, and feet, and falling into a pool, the bath of salvation. The Fountain of Life—originally an expression of the cult of the Precious Blood—was a very popular motif in late medieval art; in the Reformation it persisted, though associated then

<sup>1</sup> At II. iv. 2 the 'rightfull owner' is described as able to 'menage . . . his pride'; at xii. 53 we find him 'Bridling his will'. Cf. Rinaldo's stolen horse, which Harington interprets as 'fervent appetite' (Notes to *Orlando Furioso*, Bks. I and II). On the horse as symbol for the wilful passions, see Valeriano, *Hieroglyphica* (Lyons, 1611), IV. xx-xxiii; as a special attribute of *superbia* in medieval graphic art, A. Katzenellenbogen, *Allegories of the Virtues and Vices in Medieval Art* (London, 1939), pp. 10, 79, and fig. 8a.

<sup>2</sup> For numerous examples of this emblem, see Mâle, pp. 321-3; Katzenellenbogen, pp. 55 f. *et passim*; and R. van Marle, *Iconographie de l'art profane* (La Haye, 1932), figs. 16, 22, &c.

<sup>3</sup> *Pia desideria* (Antwerp, 1624), I. viii, pp. 59-64; illustrated in M. Praz, *Studies in Seventeenth-Century Imagery*, I (London, 1939), p. 133 (fig. 56).

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with baptism rather than with the mass.<sup>1</sup> However disguised mythologically (as in the later period it often was), it would be readily recognized, in the briefest allusion, by a contemporary reader. Thus Spenser's fountain, to which Mordant came when Amavia reclaimed him, is an extraordinarily complex symbol of the believer's identity with Christ; serving both as fountain of repentance and laver of regeneration, as *fons lachrymarum* and *balnea salutis*.

Closer examination would show that the early cantos form an allegory of baptismal regeneration. The rock of the fountain is Christ, the 'spiritual rock', from whom flows the water of baptism (1 Cor. x. 2-4). Mordant (the 'outer man') and Amavia (the 'inner man') of the old Adam die and are buried by the fountain, because baptism involves a sacramental death and burial with Christ (Rom. vi. 3-4). The Edward VI Form for Private Baptism contained a prayer 'that the old Adam in them that shall be baptized in this fountain, may be so buried, that the new man may be raised up again'. As for Guyon's new man, he is present too, in the shape of the laughing baby, Ruddymane. His 'guilty hands' are baptized simultaneously with Guyon's own; but even the water of life will not wash out the bloody stains, which derive ultimately (ii. 4) from the poison of Acrasia (concupiscence). As the Ninth of the XXXIX Articles warned, concupiscence, the cause of the death of the old Adam, is not effaced by baptism. Only the long process of mortification of the flesh—with which Book II deals—can do anything to arrest it. Some theologians, indeed, among them Calvin, held out little hope of concupiscence ever being eradicated in this life. 'This corruption', he says, 'never ceases in us, but constantly produces new fruits . . . just as . . . a fountain is ever pouring out water' (*Inst.*, iv. xv. 11, tr. Beveridge).

And this is how Spenser renders it, substantializing the traditional metaphor in the 'Infinit streames' of the fountain of Acrasia. With its erotic sculpture—profane Eroses bathing in the 'liquid ioyes' of love or playing 'wanton toyes' (xii. 60)—this fountain is so disturbingly matched against the earlier one that recollection is enforced. Guyon has bathed in tears under the streaming body of Christ; will he, then, bathe in the 'ample lauer' of Acrasia's fountain, under the ivy of Bacchus, whose 'lasciuious armes', creeping into the water, seem 'for wantones to weepe', in blasphemous parody alike of crucifixion and piety?<sup>2</sup> In grasping this

<sup>1</sup> See Mâle, pp. 110-18, and, for the earlier history of the motif, P. A. Underwood, 'The Fountain of Life in Manuscripts of the Gospels', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, v (1950), 43-138. The motif seems to have been introduced into emblem literature by Georgette de Montenay, in her *Emblemes ou devises chrestiennes* (Lyons, 1571), Embl. 111, illus. Praz (fig. 9) from a later edn.

<sup>2</sup> xii. 61; the parody is compressed into a pun: 'drops of Christ all seemed for wantons to weep'.

opposition, Spenser's first readers would be assisted by their familiarity with the work he was emulating, Trissino's *L'Italia Liberata da Gotti*.<sup>1</sup> In Trissino the two fountains are more closely juxtaposed (iv. 873 and v. 152), their symbolism less complex. But in Spenser's Book II the whole action flows between the fountain of life and the fountain of death, which set, as it were, its alternative extremes. The contrast involves a paradox: those who drink Acrasia's fountain seem alive, but are virtually dead—reduced, like Cymochles (v. 35), to a shade; while those who drink the nymph's fountain die, but only to rise to a new life.

This almost symmetrical opposition is far from being the only one of its kind; contrasted images of water are, indeed, the Book's leitmotif. Thus the dead lake of idleness is set against the lake of grace which swallows up the deathly Maleger in its life. Pyrocles is hotter than 'damned ghoste' in Phlegethon (vi. 50), a burning river answered by the nymph's cold fountain (ii. 9). Equally opposed, this time to its purity (ii. 9), is the black river Cocytus, those 'sad waues, which direfull deadly stanke' under the Cave of Mammon.<sup>2</sup> (The burning and the filthy rivers correspond to the two modes of corruption—ireful and appetitive, strong and weak—a dichotomy which runs throughout the Book.) Such contrasts, between good and bad fountains, rivers, lakes, not to speak of wands, nets, boats, pilots, &c., are no doubt in part a device of formal arrangement, in part expressions of the ambivalence of a natural order calling for constant discrimination. They may, however, carry the further implication that two entire ways of life, two complete mental landscapes, are being presented to our choice.

The Book has also its images of wine. Repeatedly the temptation of the Bower of Bliss is presented as a wine-cup, or is associated with symbols of Bacchus. This is a deliberate emphasis, and one which is not found in Spenser's models, Tasso's Bower of Armida or Trissino's Garden of Acratia.<sup>3</sup> First there is the 'mighty Mazer bowle of wine' of evil Genius; then the golden cup of Excess, with juice pressed from intoxicating grapes; and lastly the cup of Acrasia, the ample laver of her fountain, beneath the ivy of Bacchus. Acrasia's cup makes her lovers animals in the end; but for a time they become embodiments of the god Bacchus himself. Thus Mordant is actually called Bacchus in Acrasia's curse (i. 55); while Verdant,

<sup>1</sup> Spenser's use of Trissino has been noticed by C. W. Lemmi, 'The Influence of Trissino on the *Faerie Queene*', *P.Q.*, vii (1928), 220-3.

<sup>2</sup> vii. 57. Such pairs of contrasted rivers were traditional: Bersuire contrasts the hot Egyptian fountain of avarice and worldly pleasure ('non est refrigeratiua, sed potius inflammatiua') with the waters of compassion and piety (*Dict.*, Pt. I, under *aqua*). Landino, the Neoplatonist, interprets the four rivers of Hell as the course of sin, flowing from man's concupiscence—'a concupiscencia nostra veluti a fonte manat aqua' (*Alleg. in Aen.*, Virgil, *Opera* (Basel, 1596), pp. 3038, 3044).

<sup>3</sup> Trissino has vines, but no cups of wine.

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as his name suggests, enjoys that green age of youth which was the perpetual condition of the god.<sup>1</sup>

Into contact with these Bacchic images comes, at the moment of the mission's fulfilment, the principal water-image, Guyon. For the name Guyon derives from one of the four rivers of Paradise (Gen. ii. 10-14). These rivers were from patristic times identified with the four cardinal virtues, Pison usually being prudence, Tigris fortitude, Euphrates justice, and Gihon (Geon, Gaeon, Gyon, &c.) temperance. The Neoplatonist Philo probably invented the allegory; but it was Ambrose who developed it christologically. In Ambrose's interpretation, the single river from which the four river-virtues spring is Christ, the fountain of eternal life.<sup>2</sup> The symbol was a familiar one in the Renaissance. To cite well-used reference works: Bersuire (*Comm. in Gen.*, ii, in *Reductorium morale*) traces the rivers back to the fountain of repentance which irrigates a righteous man's conscience; while Valeriano (*Hieroglyph.*, xxi. xiv) follows Ambrose and Philo, explaining that the Gaeon (Nile) signifies temperance because it washes Egypt (i.e. enticing pleasure) and Ethiopia, a land stained, like the human body, with a dark infection: 'it purges the vile body, and quenches the ardour of lust'.

The purpose of the four rivers allegory was to symbolize in a vivid way the absolute dependence of the virtues upon their source, the water of life. The same idea was expressed by a motif in late medieval graphic art, which associated human personifications of the virtues with the Fountain of Life. A Bellegambe painting at Lille, for example, depicts the faithful, assisted by female figures (the virtues), climbing into a large laver beneath the crucified Christ: signifying that men can only achieve virtues after bathing in the blood of salvation, each effusion of which washes out one deadly sin.<sup>3</sup> In a similar manner, and with similar meaning, Guyon the virtue of temperance helps Ruddymane to wash in the Fountain of Life.

Since Guyon's entry into the Bower of Bliss brings images of water and wine together, the missing emblem of temperance has been found. It remains to discover what symbolic force it exerts. Traditionally, temperance's pouring of water into wine had meant dilution: moderation in the indulgence of a burning desire. Such is the interpretation in Claude Mignault's Commentary on Alciati; somewhat disappointingly, he explains that when the Greek Anthology says that Bacchus delights to link with three nymphs,

<sup>1</sup> For Bacchus as *semper iuvenis* and *puer aeternus*, see Conti, *Mytholog.*, v. xiii, and Alciati, *Emblemata cum comm. ampliss.* (Padua, 1621), p. 140a, on Embl. xxv, 'In statuam Bacchi'.

<sup>2</sup> *De parad.*, iii. For further details about the history of this allegorization, see Underwood, pp. 47-49; also my note 'The River Guyon', forthcoming in *M.L.N.*

<sup>3</sup> See Mâle, p. 115 and fig. 62; it should be noted that the bath in this painting is an erotic bath, shared with the object of desire.

it only means that wine should be mixed with three parts water: unmixed, it causes fury and insanity. He quotes Plato's advice that 'the drunken god should be tempered with sober nymphs' (Alciati, 143*b*, 144*b*, and 146*a*). Sometimes, however, the two vessels of temperance carried another significance. Ripa tells us that temperance is portrayed with two vessels, one tilted into the other, 'because of the similarity between a mixture of two liquids, and that of two contrary extremes' (*Iconologia*, p. 508). The conception of temperance as the mixture or integration of extremes, as distinct from their avoidance, is clearly expressed in the triads of the Castle of Medina. But the mixture emblem is also worked up into a characteristic piece of poetic theology, more deeply hidden, which underlies the Bower of Bliss temptations, as well as Acrasia's curse upon Mordant.

Spenser seems to have taken a hint from Bersuire's allegorization of an account in Solinus of the marvellous river Diana, near Camerina. According to Solinus, if anyone of unchaste habits draws water from the Diana, it will not mix with the wine in his body (*Polyhistor*, xi). Bersuire takes this to mean that the unchastity of the drinker will be revealed. By water, he says,

can be understood doctrine—especially by the water of the Diana, a name which means 'manifest' [*clara*]. But by wine can be understood the human will; for water (doctrine) cools, but the human will burns with desire. Therefore the water of good doctrine is applied to the wine of ardent will, so that the appetite may be tempered.

(*Reductorium morale*, viii. iii. 33)

By a common and obvious symbolism, intoxication and the consequent heating of the blood has throughout Christian literature been an image of sin. Thus, in Burnet's *Exposition of the Thirty Nine Articles*, an extended speculation about how original sin altered the human constitution imagines the pathological effect as an inflammation of the blood (on Art. IX). More metaphysically, Neoplatonic writers used the intoxicating draught of Bacchus as a myth to describe the immersion of the mind in matter at birth, when 'the new drink of matter's impetuous flood' intoxicated the soul and brought oblivion. Augustinian theology, which took over the myth, also regarded the soul as overcome at birth; not, however, by matter, but by its failure to dominate the body's original sin, concupiscence.<sup>1</sup> Thus it is concupiscence (Acrasia) whose Bacchic draught brings Mordant such oblivion that he forgets Amavia. And having drunk the wine of wilfulness, he is confronted with his unfaithfulness by waters of doctrine from a fountain of Diana (revelation), so that he knows himself mortally guilty.

<sup>1</sup> See Aquinas, *Disp.* iv *De malo*, 1, on the soul's contraction of original sin at its infusion. The Platonic myth can be traced from the *Phaedo* through Plotinus (*Enn.*, iv. iii. 2), Porphyry (*De antr. nymph.*, i. 88), and Macrobius (*In somn. Scip.*, i. xii) to Renaissance mythographers like Valeriano (*Collectanea*, ii. ix).

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Since passions have the darkness of a Bacchic intoxication, the accomplishment of temperance must consist in remaining lucid amidst them, until their sources are understood. This is expressed allegorically by Guyon's refusal to bathe at the Bower of Bliss. Carrying with him on his course water from Diana's fountain, he enters the sphere of the natural, and *resists immersion in it*. For the temptation of the Bower would be underestimated if, with Bowra, we regarded it as 'sexual irregularity'.<sup>1</sup> It is nothing less than the primary temptation to relinquish the mind's dominion and succumb in animal wilfulness to the intoxication of the natural and the material: to succumb, that is, to concupiscence, 'the mind of the flesh', by wallowing in the desires of the heart. Nevertheless, the Bower is not simply to be avoided; to the passionate heart—the fountain of the will—Guyon must bring the water of doctrine and grace.<sup>2</sup> This allegory of a human conduit between fountains was not entirely novel. In Trissino's *L'Italia Liberata*, water is carried in vessels from a fountain made by God from Virtue's tears, and is poured in literal fact into Acratia's fountain of concupiscence.<sup>3</sup> The difference, however, between this allegory and Spenser's is significant. Whereas Trissino automatically overcomes each obstacle by the same device, sprinkling with holy water, Spenser attempts to render the process of regeneration in greater detail, by the introduction of images with assignable psychological meaning, such as the Palmer's staff of concord and net of formal analysis. Characteristically, Trissino calls the water *acqua del sanajo*; while Spenser allows the theological meaning to remain implicit.

The symmetry of Book II now emerges, as we see Guyon on a massive scale bringing together, as temperance should, two vessels. He lives in no exclusively moral, natural world, as some critics have maintained; but in the full tension between spirit and rebellious flesh, between Fidelia's cup and Acrasia's.

<sup>1</sup> Lemmi, who notices much of the Bacchic imagery (*M.L.N.*, I (1935), 163-4, and *P.Q.*, viii (1929), 276-7), sees some of the symbolism, but makes it too narrowly sexual, treating Bacchus as the 'masculine principle' and Mordant as 'oversexed'.

<sup>2</sup> For the heart as the *fons voluntatis*, see Valeriano, xviii. xiii, 'Concupiscentia'. N. S. Brooke, 'C. S. Lewis and Spenser', *Cambridge Journal*, ii (1949), 430, noticed that the fountain of Acrasia is the heart, but failed to make the connexion with the will.

<sup>3</sup> vi and v. Cf. also Goltzius's engraving 'Satisfactio Christi' (B. 67), where the Fountain of Life pours directly into a human heart opened like a box to receive it.

## GILES FLETCHER, THE ELDER, AND MILTON'S *A BRIEF HISTORY OF MOSCOVIA*

By LLOYD E. BERRY

THE purpose of this paper is twofold: first to show the pervasive influence of Giles Fletcher's *Russe Common Wealth* on Milton's conception of Russia as seen in his *Brief History of Moscovia*; and second, in the light of this pervasive influence, to suggest a new date of composition for Milton's work.

In the *Moscovia*, Milton states his opinion of Fletcher's *Russe Common Wealth*:

1588. Dr. *Giles Fletcher* went Ambassadour from the Queen to *Pheodor* then Emperour; whose Relations being judicious and exact are best red entirely by themselves.<sup>1</sup>

This is a more significant statement than it appears superficially in view of Milton's purpose in writing his *Moscovia*, for in the preface Milton says: The study of Geography is both profitable and delightfull; but the Writers thereof, though some of them exact enough in setting down Longitudes and Latitudes, yet in those other relations of Manners, Religion, Government and such like, accounted Geographical, have for the most part miss'd their proportions. Some too brief and deficient satisfy not; others too voluminous and impertinent cloy and weary out the Reader. . . . (p. 327)

Here we see that Milton thought Fletcher's 'relations' observed the proper proportions and were both 'exact' and 'judicious'. Indeed, Fletcher's book is the only one mentioned by Milton which he exempts from the faults he cites.

Unlike Fletcher's account, Milton's *Moscovia* is not an original document. He states his plan as follows:

What was scatter'd in many Volumes, and observ'd at several times by Eye-witnesses, with no cursory pains I laid together, to save the Reader a far longer travaile of wandring through so many desert Authours. (p. 328)

Professor Cawley points out that Milton felt his role as a historian should be that of 'selector, condenser, and reorganizer'.<sup>2</sup> Yet it is significant that Milton presents the material common to *Moscovia* and the *Russe Common Wealth* from the same point of view as does Fletcher.

<sup>1</sup> F. A. Patterson and others, *The Works of John Milton*, x (New York, 1932), 378. References throughout are to this edition.

<sup>2</sup> Robert Cawley, *Milton's Literary Craftsmanship* (Princeton, 1941), p. 28.



Two themes run through Milton's *Moscovia*. The first is Milton's pride in the accomplishments of the English people and the system of government, so unlike that of Russia, which fostered these accomplishments—Russia was the 'most northern Region of Europe' whose northern parts were 'first discovered by English Voiages'. The entire fifth chapter relates the account of the discovery of Russia through the northern ocean by Englishmen and the 'English Embassies and Entertainments at that Court, until the Year 1604'. The second theme is that of contempt for the Russian people. Russia symbolized tyranny, oppression, and ignorance. In Fletcher's *Russe Common Wealth* the same two themes are present. Both can be seen in Fletcher's 'Epistle Dedicatorie' to Queen Elizabeth:

In their maner of gouernment, your Highnesse may see both: A true and strange face of a *Tyrannical* state, (most vnlike to your own) without true knowledge of GOD, without written Lawe, . . . to wit the Magistrate who hath most neede of a Lawe, to restraine his own iniustice. The practise hereof as it is heauy, and grievous to the poore oppressed people, that liue within those Countreyes: so it may giue iust cause to my selfe, and other your Maiesties faithfull subiects, to acknowledge our happines on this behalfe, and to giue God thanks for your Maiesties most Prince-like, and gracious gouernment: as also to your Highnesse more ioy, and contentment in your royall estate, in that you are a Prince of subiectes, not of slaues, that are kept within duetie by loue, not by feare.<sup>1</sup>

Besides this thematic similarity, Fletcher's influence on Milton can be seen in specific details.<sup>2</sup> Concerning the revenues of the Emperor, Milton emphasizes the extortionate means which the Emperor uses:

The Revenues of the Emperour are what he list, and what his Subjects are able; and he omits not the coursest means to raise them. (p. 338)

Fletcher devotes one chapter to the tyrannical means by which the Emperor raises his revenues. He closes with this statement:

To these may bee added . . . other their extraordinary impositions, and exactions done vpon their officers, Monasteries, &c. not for any apparant necessity . . . yet with some pretence of a *Scythian*, that is, grosse and barbarous pollicie . . . put in practise by the Emperours of *Russia*, all tending to this end to robbe their people, and to inrich their treasure. (Sig. G)

Milton is also severe in his denunciation of the Russian church and clergy:

<sup>1</sup> Giles Fletcher, *Of the Russe Common Wealth* (London, 1591), Sig. A3-A4.

<sup>2</sup> I do not maintain that the following parallels are the actual sources for Milton's passages, for he very carefully gives his source of information in the margin in each case. I do maintain, however, that Fletcher's *Russe Common Wealth* influenced Milton to such an extent that when Milton wrote the *Moscovia* he selected from the accounts in Hakluyt and Purchas those points on Russia which agreed with his concepts of Russia formed by reading Fletcher.

They follow the *Greek Church*, but with excess of Superstitions; their Service is in the Russian Tongue. They hold the Ten Commandments not to concern them, saying that God gave them under the Law, which Christ by his death on the Cross hath abrogated . . .; they observe 4 Lents, have Service in their Churches daily, from two hours before dawn to Evening; yet for Whordom, Drunkenness and Extortion none worse than the clergy. (pp. 339-40)

Compare this with Fletcher's denunciation:

Many other false opinions they haue in matter of religion. But these are the chiefe, which they holde partly by meanes of their traditions (which they haue receiued from the Greeke church) but specially by ignorance of the holy Scriptures.

All this mischief commeth from the clergie, who being ignorant and godlesse themselves, are very warie to keepe the people likewise in their ignorance and blindness, for their liuing and bellies sake. . . (Sig. O3)

Concerning the various manners of the Russian people both Milton and Fletcher emphasize the same characteristics:

Milton:

They have no Learning, nor will suffer to be among them. (p. 341)

Fletcher:

As themselves are voyde of all maner of learning, so are they warie to keepe out all meanes that might bring any in: as fearing to haue their ignorance, and vngodlinesse discovered. (Sig. M5)

Milton:

There is no People that live so miserably as the Poor of *Russia*. (p. 341)

Fletcher:

Concerning the landes, goods, and other possessions of the commons, they answer the name and lie common indeed without any fense against the repine, and spoile, not onely of the highest, but of his Nobilitie, officers, and souldiers. (Sig. G6)

Milton records only one incident concerning the Russian burial of their dead:

The Dead they bury with new Shooes on their Feet, as to a long Journey; and put Letters testimonial in their Hands to Saint *Nicholas*, or Saint *Peter*, that this was a *Russe* of *Russes* and dy'd in the true Faith; which, as they believe, Saint *Peter* having read, forthwith admits him into Heaven. (p. 340)

Fletcher makes as the main point of his discussion of the Russian burial of their dead the same superstition:

About their burials also, they haue manie superstitions and prophane ceremonies: as putting within the finger of the corpes, a letter to Saint *Nicholas*:



whome they make their chiefe mediatour, and as it were, the porter of heauen gates, as the Papistes doe their *Peter*. (Sig. P2)

Concerning the vanity of Theodor Ivanowich, Milton records with subtle humour the following incident:

Those three [Englishmen] after a tedious preamble of the Emperour's Title thrice repeated brought a several Complement of three words apiece, as namely, the first, to know how the King did, the next, how the Ambassadour, the third, that there was a fair House provided him. (p. 379)

The incident becomes more amusing only when one realizes that Milton probably had in mind the following account of the Tsar's 'stile' and related incident in Fletcher's work:

Theodore Iuanowich, by the grace of God great Lord and Emperour of all Russia, great Duke of Volodemer, Mosko, and Nouograd, King of Cezan, King of Astracan, Lord of Plesko, and great duke of Smolensko, of Twerria, Ioughoria, Permia, Vadska, Bulghoria, and others, Lord and great duke of Nouograd of the Low countrie, of Chernigo, Rezan, Polotskoy, Rostove, Yarustaeley, Bealozera, Liefland, Oudoria, Obdoria, and Condensa, Commaunder of all Siberia, and of the North partes, and Lord of many other Countries, &c.

Fletcher comments:

My selfe when I had audience of the Emperour, thought good to salute him onely with thus much vz. *Emperour of all Russia, great Duke of Volodemer, Mosko and Nouograd, King of Cazan, King of Astracan*. The rest I omitted of purpose, because I knew they gloried, to haue their stile appeare to bee of a larger volume then the Queenes of England. But this was taken in so ill part, that the Chauncellor . . . with a lowde chafing voice called still vpon mee to say out the rest. . . . All would not serue till I commaunded my Interpreter to say it all out. (Sig. D3-D3v)

Milton as 'selector' would naturally choose from the various eye-witness accounts, which he lists at the end of the *Moscovia*, those passages which agreed with his own opinions on Russia. These characteristics which Milton attributes to the Russian people are precisely those qualities which receive emphasis in Fletcher's account. And I have through these examples attempted to show that Fletcher's *Russe Common Wealth*, in a large measure, was the basis for Milton's opinions on Russia.

With these similarities in mind, let us consider the date of composition of *A Brief History of Moscovia*. Professor Hanford rather vaguely says:

At some interval of leisure during the Commonwealth or Early Protectorate, at any rate before his blindness, possibly even as early as the Horton period, Milton composed a popular account of Russia.<sup>1</sup>

Three other scholars have also considered the date of the *Moscovia*.

<sup>1</sup> James H. Hanford, *A Milton Handbook* (4th edn. New York, 1946), p. 129.

Professor Bryant dates Milton's work some time between 1639 and 1641, arguing that it was 'during this period Milton taught schools, studied English history and laid tentative plans for some of the work he was later to do'.<sup>1</sup> Professor Cawley agrees with Professor Bryant's date for the *Moscovia*.<sup>2</sup> Professor Parks dates the work between October 1649 and January 1650; for this was the time negotiations were begun with Russia for recognition of the Commonwealth and for restoration of trading privileges which were stopped by the Emperor upon the execution of Charles I. And he argues that Milton's work is exactly the type of book 'a foreign office would want done as a guide to diplomatic dealings with Russia'.<sup>3</sup>

However, in the light of information which I will present, it is my opinion that the date of composition should be placed in the Horton period (1632-1638). It should be remembered that this was the time when Milton began his comprehensive study of world history. But the question arises, did Milton know Fletcher's works at this time? The answer is yes. It is well established that during his youth, and I include the Horton period, Milton was greatly influenced by the writings of Phineas Fletcher, the eldest son of Giles Fletcher, the elder. In 1633 Phineas Fletcher's *The Purple Island, or the Isle of Man: Together with Piscatorie Ecloges and Other Poetical Miscellanies* was printed at Cambridge. In the first two Piscatory Eclogues, Phineas with glowing praise traces the career of his father in the character of Thelgon.<sup>4</sup> In Eclogue I, stanza 12, Phineas notes his father's journey to Russia. That Milton knew this volume of poetry has been pointed out by A. B. Grosart and Professors H. E. Cory and James Hanford.<sup>5</sup> In the same year, 1633, Phineas Fletcher edited his father's *De Literis Antiquae Britanniae* which appeared with a group of his own Latin verses collectively called *Sylva Poetica*. Professor Bradner indicates that perhaps the elder Fletcher's *De Literis Antiquae Britanniae* influenced Milton's composition of *Comus*:

The appearance of the story of Sabrina together with the figures of Father Camus and Lycidas suggest[s] that Fletcher's work was not without influence upon Milton.

Milton could not have taken his Sabrina story in *Comus* from Spenser, who also mentions Sabrina in connection with the Severn river, since Spenser does not tell of her transformation into a goddess.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> J. A. Bryant, Jr., 'Milton and the Art of History', *P.Q.*, xxix (1950), 29.

<sup>2</sup> Robert Cawley, *Milton and the Literature of Travel* (Princeton, 1951), p. 85 n.

<sup>3</sup> George Parks, 'The Occasion of Milton's *Moscovia*', *S.P.*, xl (1943), 400.

<sup>4</sup> F. S. Boas (ed.), *The Poetical Works of Giles and Phineas Fletcher* (Cambridge, 1909), ii. 175-86.

<sup>5</sup> A. B. Grosart (ed.), *Poems of Phineas Fletcher* (1869), i. cclxxix-cccxxx. Hanford, *Handbook*, p. 263. H. E. Cory, 'Spenser, the School of the Fletchers, and Milton', *University of California Publications in Modern Philology*, ii (1912), 311-73.

<sup>6</sup> Leicester Bradner, *Musae Anglicanae* (New York, 1940), p. 39.

Professor Warren Austin suggests that two of Fletcher's eclogues, *Adonis* and *Elegia*, influenced Milton's *Lycidas*. In the former elegy he points out that

not only the occasion and setting of Fletcher's *Adonis* curiously anticipated the circumstances surrounding the writing of *Lycidas* but also that a more marked resemblance is to be found in the thought patterns of the two poems than might be expected from the common background of pastoral tradition. . . . Fletcher's *Elegia* also foreshadowed *Lycidas* in that this poem, in large part a soliloquy on the poet's own career, shows a close parallelism in thought to Milton's passage on Fame.<sup>1</sup>

The fact that Milton read Phineas Fletcher's *Purple Island*, which also contained the Piscatory Eclogues, used Giles Fletcher's *De Literis Antiquae Britanniae* in *Comus*, and was influenced by two of his elegies in the composition of *Lycidas* certainly indicates that Milton was deeply interested in the literary works of Giles Fletcher, the elder. There is one passage in *Lycidas* which suggests the influence of Fletcher's *Russe Common Wealth*. Compare the following lines from Milton's poem denouncing the ignorance of the clergy and their interest in easy living with lines from the *Russe Common Wealth*:

Anow of such as for their bellies sake,  
Creep and intrude, and climb into the fold?

Blind mouthes! that scarce themselves know how to hold  
A Sheep-hook, or have learn'd ought els the least  
That to the faithfull Herdmans art belongs! [114-15; 119-21]

All this mischief commeth from the clergie, who being ignorant and godlesse themselves, are very warie to keepe the people likewise in their ignorance and blindness, for their liuing and bellies sake. (Sig. O3)

Perhaps Milton himself indicates that this period was the time of composition of *Moscovia*. Let us examine closely a part of Milton's preface to his work:

And this perhaps induc'd *Paulus Jovius* to describe onely *Muscovy* and *Britain*. Some such thoughts, many years since, led me at a vacant time to attempt the like argument; and I began with *Muscovy*, as being the most northern Region of *Europe* reputed civil; and the more northern Parts thereof, first discovered by *English Voiages*. (pp. 327-8)

Like *Paulus Jovius*, Milton described only Russia and Britain; and Milton informs us that he began with Russia. From Professor Hanford's analysis

<sup>1</sup> Warren B. Austin, 'Milton's *Lycidas* and Two Latin Elegies by Giles Fletcher, the Elder', *S.P.*, xlv (1947), 55.

of the *Commonplace Book*, we learn that upon his return from Italy in 1639, Milton began reading intensively various histories of England in preparation for writing his own account.<sup>1</sup> The 'many years since' and the 'vacant time' are perhaps too vague to identify positively. But since Milton himself tells us that he began with Muscovy and since upon his return to England in 1639 he began his intensive reading for the *History of Britain*, we can safely conclude that the 'vacant time' preceded the composition of the *History of Britain*; and the only 'vacant time' preceding its composition was the Horton period.

<sup>1</sup> J. H. Hanford, 'Chronology of Milton's Private Studies', *P.M.L.A.*, xxxvi (1921), 267-71.

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## THE MANUSCRIPT OF *THE PROFESSOR*

By M. M. BRAMMER

CHARLOTTE BRONTË completed the fair copy of *The Professor* on 27 June 1846.<sup>1</sup> Her original draft, presumably finished by April of that year,<sup>2</sup> has not, so far as is known, survived; but the fair copy of this particular novel is of some interest. It is well known that after a series of 'ignominious dismissals' from various publishers, the manuscript was returned with a courteous and reasoned refusal from Smith, Elder and Co. Soon after their publication of *Jane Eyre*, Charlotte was contemplating a revised *Professor*,<sup>3</sup> but her publishers evidently advised her not to attempt it. However, little more than a year after she had completed *Shirley*, she again turned to her first novel, and some time before February 1851, when George Smith finally persuaded her to abandon the idea, she wrote a Preface 'with a view to publication'.

Alterations in the fair copy may therefore include revisions as late as 1851 as well as those made in preparation for the initial attempt at publication. It seems unlikely that alterations would postdate *Villette* (1853), in which most of the Brussels material had been re-used; and *The Professor* was locked up 'in a cupboard by himself' after his ninth and final rejection in February 1851.

*The Professor* was eventually published after the author's death. Mrs. Gaskell refused George Smith's suggestion that she should edit the novel, but, anxious that Kay-Shuttleworth should not be allowed to do so, she insisted that Mr. Nicholls ought to be entrusted with the task.<sup>4</sup> She and Kay-Shuttleworth agreed that several 'objectionable passages' should be removed, for *The Professor* was 'disfigured by more coarseness and profanity in quoting texts of scripture disagreeably' than any of her other works.<sup>4</sup> In the event she was very dissatisfied with the extent of Nicholls's editing. He had, nevertheless, bowdlerized *The Professor* to some extent, as an examination of the manuscript shows. His cancellations are of considerable interest.

Finally, the fact that the novel was not seen through the press by Charlotte Brontë herself meant that the printed text was not entirely accurate.

<sup>1</sup> Date given in the autograph manuscript of *The Professor*, p. 340.

<sup>2</sup> See letter to Aylott and Jones, 6 April 1846. (Shakespeare Head Brontë, *Lives, Friendships and Correspondence* (1932), ii. 87.)

<sup>3</sup> Letter to George Smith, (*S.H.B.*, iii. 206-7).

<sup>4</sup> Letter to Emily Shaen (*S.H.B.*, iv. 208).

A number of misreadings occur, and the author's punctuation and capitalization are sometimes seriously distorted.

### I. *Alterations in the manuscript*<sup>1</sup>

The 340 pages of *The Professor* manuscript contain between 270 and 280 alterations of various kinds. Many pages contain only one alteration: few have more than two or three. About fifty of the instances mentioned are insertions of words or phrases above the line of writing—most of them in ink, three apparently in pencil. Many are single word insertions (typically, the addition of an adjective to a descriptive phrase), and only about half a dozen are longer phrases of some significance.

The author made most of her alterations by crossing out a word or phrase with a single horizontal stroke of the pen, and writing the new phrase above the line. Thus the original words are usually legible. But one alteration, on MS. p. 48, is in a handwriting which one may fairly assume to be that of Nicholls—since he is the acknowledged editor and since there is a close similarity between the writing of the alteration and that of his transcript of the Preface. The heavy, black obliteration of the rejected words on p. 48 is almost certainly his doing, and it would seem reasonable to suppose that he was responsible for similar cancellations elsewhere in the manuscript. One passage, heavily inked out, has been replaced by a phrase in Charlotte Brontë's handwriting (MS. p. 47): on MS. p. 248 light diagonal strokes in her faded brownish ink are clearly visible as well as the darker cancellations of Nicholls. In both cases the original was probably of a type that Nicholls wished to cancel much more thoroughly than the author had done.

I assume therefore that it was he who so carefully inked out the word 'God' in the following passages:

MS. p. 48 (chap. v, p. 76) God damn your insolence! (Altered to 'Confound...')

MS. p. 141 (xiv. 235) God! How the repeater of the prayer...

MS. p. 247 (xxii. 117) God confound his impudence!

MS. p. 306 (xxiv. 206) Oh God! And I pitied the fellow...

These exclamations are provoked by themes or characters which produced a violent reaction in the author's mind. They are also part of *The Professor*'s realism: an Edward Crimsworth would have said 'God damn' rather than the petulant 'Confound'. Hunsden, delighting in provocative speech and excited by his battle of wits with Frances, would have spoken more emphatically than Nicholls allows him to do. On the other hand, it might be argued that Charlotte Brontë, in her attempt to portray masculine

<sup>1</sup> A microfilm copy of the autograph manuscript has been consulted, and quotations from it are given by courtesy of the present owners of the manuscript, the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York.

characters and to assume the character of a man as narrator, mistook coarseness for masculinity. 'God confound his impudence!', the professor's reflection on Hunsden's cool manner of making himself at home, is disproportionately strong; his earlier exclamation, provoked by the gabbled prayers of the Roman Catholic scholars, is hardly well chosen in a diatribe against irreverence.

Nicholls also appears to have cancelled, or to have confirmed the author's cancellation of, two longer passages. On MS. p. 129 (xii. 215) the phrase 'but when passion cooled' is followed by three very heavily cancelled lines. On MS. p. 248 (xxii. 118) after the sentence 'There is no use in attempting to describe what is indescribable' occur four heavily cancelled lines. The first passage is unfortunately quite illegible: but the ascenders and descenders of letters in the second are clear, and most words decipherable with a fair degree of certainty.<sup>1</sup> In the following version the words in italics are dubious: those bracketed are illegible in the manuscript: the conjectural reading is based on the apparent length and spacing of the words.

... describe what is indescribable. I can only say that the form and countenance of Hunsden Yorke Hunsden Esq resembled *more* the *result* [of an amour] between Oliver Cromwell and a French grisette than anything else in Heaven above or in the Earth beneath.

The author's cancellation must have left the original text plainly legible: Nicholls therefore inked out each word so that the passage should not be read by publisher or printer.

Charlotte Brontë may have cancelled the sentence before sending the manuscript to any publisher at all, but it is conceivable that, looking over *The Professor* after the publication of *Jane Eyre*, and knowing the public reaction to her account of Rochester's amours, she decided to cut out the passage at this later stage. It should be noticed that the cancellation on MS. p. 129 occurs in a context where the word 'passion' is already a danger signal; and that, on MS. p. 180 (xviii. 6-7), where the words 'a warm, cherishing touch of the hand' have been altered, about one-third of the page seems to have been cut away—a method of excision frequently used by the author in, for example, the manuscript of *Villette*, and not necessarily to be attributed, therefore, to Nicholls.

The Cromwell passage is, I think, rather amusing: an odd quirk of Charlotte's imagination which adds one more piquant association to the already bizarre collection of associations surrounding the character of

<sup>1</sup> The Pierpont Morgan Library kindly undertook to examine the passages by means of ultra-violet and infra-red photography, but the experiments were unsuccessful. The Curator writes: 'In addition to lining out the passages very heavily [? the Rev. Nicholls] also scraped through the lines (probably gutted them with a small pen knife). I fear that they are not recoverable.'



Hunsden. One regrets the loss of any detail which throws light on the way in which she imagined him. 'Oliver Cromwell and a French grisette' help to define her previous description: Hunsden has a tall figure, but his lineaments are 'small, and even feminine'; 'character had set a stamp upon each' of his 'plastic features'; 'expression re-cast them at her pleasure, and strange metamorphoses she wrought, giving him now that of a morose bull, and anon that of an arch and mischievous girl; more frequently, the two semblances were blent, and a queer, composite countenance they made' (iv. 61-63).<sup>1</sup> Again, the exotic comparison shows Hunsden's affinity with Zamorna; and in another sense 'Cromwell' links him with Angria, where romantic liaisons of the great Ruler with lesser mortals had been a major theme. In fact reaction against Angria and all it symbolized, rather than a desire for literary decorum, may have been the more or less conscious motive of Charlotte's cancellation.

One other cancellation is probably by Nicholls. It occurs on MS. p. 47 (v. 74) where three or four words are obliterated after 'I may work', and 'it will do no good' is inserted above the line. It is not written directly above the cancelled phrase; it begins towards the end of the cancellation and extends to the word 'but' in the following clause. The original words are by no means clear, but they may have been 'I may work *and toil and sweat*'. 'It will do no good' may replace the cancelled phrase: it may be an addition to it—no comma appears after 'work' in the manuscript, though some punctuation is obviously required. It is not unusual for the author to omit commas, and the placing of the new phrase is not very important by itself, but other considerations support the idea that she may have retained the old phrase, and that it was Nicholls who objected to it. '. . . and toil and sweat' might have offended Nicholls's sensibility, but Charlotte Brontë's was surely more robust: the phrase 'I may work, it will do no good' sounds jerky, yet other alterations show that the author was sensitive to rhythm, and made slight changes for the sake of euphony and balance, not in order to avoid it. The words are appropriate in an emphatic context, picking up the idea of 'toiling like a slave', and anticipating the Israelites 'crawling over the sun-baked fields of Egypt'. It seems unlikely that Charlotte would reject the phrase because 'sweat' is not strictly appropriate—in any case the idea of physical as well as mental fatigue is clearly present. If the author was responsible for the deletion, then one can only regret that in this instance her second thoughts entailed the loss of an apt and vigorous phrase.

It remains to consider the changes for which the author alone was responsible. Two main kinds are observable: those made primarily to affect the meaning, and those apparently dictated by a stylistic preference.

<sup>1</sup> Quotations are taken from the First Edition of *The Professor*, 1857.



The second group, as one might expect at a late stage of composition, is the larger.

Some of the meaning-changes are very minor ones. For example, 'letters' becomes the more accurate 'words' in 'my nature was not his nature, and its signs were to him like the words of an unknown tongue' (ii. 34). 'Lies' becomes 'rests' in the phrase, 'a stranger who rests half-reclined on a bed of rushes' (xvi. 266); 'luminous shadows' becomes 'luminous phantoms' (vii. 104). More interesting, and possibly more significant, is the substitution of 'visions' for 'romance' in the following passage: '... your aspirations spread eager wings towards a land of visions where, now in advancing daylight,—in X— daylight—you dare to dream of congeniality, repose, union' (MS. p. 46; v. 73). The contrast is one of 'Romance and Reality'; but perhaps 'a land of romance' would have been misleading—implying a world of the imagination which the dreamer would recognize to be 'unreal', not 'in this world'; whereas his 'visions' are potentially realizable. But the original shows clearly that the passage is in the main stream of Charlotte Brontë's thought in *The Professor*. All these, and many similar corrections, show the author's scrupulous concern for accuracy.

Other alterations are more fundamental. Very revealing, for instance, is an insertion in Chap. iii (p. 39) where the last sentence of the first paragraph originally ended, 'I looked weary, solitary, kept down like some desolate governess; he was satisfied' (MS. p. 28). The phrase 'tutor or' is inserted, apparently as an afterthought, above the line, before 'governess'. It looks as if Charlotte had not realized the unsuitability of her first phrase until a late stage of revision—showing at the same time how closely the professor's experiences were identified with her own, and, as many critics have said, how inadequately she realized his masculinity.

Another hardly disguised allusion to personal experience differs curiously from its first version. Charlotte originally wrote:

Amidst this assemblage of all that was insignificant and defective, much that was vicious and repulsive (I except the two or three stiff, silent, decently behaved, ill-dressed British girls), the sensible, sagacious, affable directress shone like a steady star. . . .  
(MS. p. 123; xii. 206)

The alteration, 'by that last epithet many would have described' instead of 'I except', is inserted above the line. The reason for the clumsiness of expression is now clear: the writer wished to change her parenthesis without remodelling the entire sentence, and the result is an awkward compromise. The main sentence expresses, very emphatically, Charlotte's own point of view; the parenthesis suddenly twists round to the opinion of the 'many', undefined, yet presumably of the class of the 'insignificant

and defective' or the 'vicious'. 'Repulsive', too, is inapt—not because it is too strong (compare the previous description of the 'daughters of Albion' and the phrase 'meeting hate with mute disdain' on p. 204 of the same chapter), but because it carries physical connotations, appropriate to the unwashed Amelia or 'swinish' Flamandes, and obviously, as the manuscript makes clear, originally intended for them and not for the 'clean and decent' English girls. Why then did Charlotte make the alteration? Partly, I think, because she wished Mlle Reuter's superiority to have its full value. The whole chapter is cleverly constructed: the charm of the 'sensible, sagacious, affable directress' is developed by contrast with her pupils and later by the romantic garden scene, only to be cruelly dispelled by her conversation with Pelet. The exception of the British girls blurs the black and white contrast which the author desired to produce, and makes the professor's infatuation less pardonable.

A third example occurs in the important opening paragraphs of Chap. vii. A new stage in William Crimsworth's life is beginning. His experiences at X— are over; and he, like Charlotte, will feel the joys and sorrows of exile in Belgium. This is the third paragraph of Chap. vii as it stands in the printed text:

Third, Belgium; and I will pause before this landscape. As to the fourth, a curtain covers it, which I may hereafter withdraw, or may not, as suits my convenience and capacity. At any rate, for the present it must hang undisturbed. Belgium! name unromantic and unpoetic, yet name that whenever uttered has in my ear a sound, in my heart an echo, such as no other assemblage of syllables, however sweet or classic, can produce. Belgium! I repeat the word, now as I sit alone near midnight. It stirs my world of the past like a summons to resurrection; the graves unclose, the dead are raised; thoughts, feelings, memories that slept, are seen by me ascending from the clods—haloed most of them—but while I gaze on their vapoury forms, and strive to ascertain definitely their outline, the sound which wakened them dies, and they sink, each and all, like a light wreath of mist, absorbed in the mould, recalled to urns, re-sealed in monuments. Farewell luminous phantoms!

The manuscript reads as follows:

... for the present it must hang undisturbed. Belgium! I repeat the name, now as I sit alone near midnight—it stirs my world of the Past like a summons to resurrection. Belgium! name unromantic and unpoetic ... (MS. p. 64; vii. 103)

The sentence, 'Belgium! I repeat ...' to 'resurrection.' is cancelled, but rewritten as in the printed text, after the words 'can produce'.

Various explanations are possible. The simplest would appear to be that we have an instance of haplography, caused by the repeated 'Belgium!,'

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and that the passage was rewritten as the clearest means of rectifying the error. In this case the original full stop after 'resurrection' and possibly the slight difference in phrasing ('I repeat the *name*'), require some explanation. Or the sentence which now stands first may have been an afterthought—a rhetorical expansion which the author realized would be better placed for its cumulative effect before the climax, the grand crescendo-diminuendo of the final sentence. The third possibility is that the cancelled sentence existed in its first (manuscript) position in the original draft, and that the paragraph ended with the words 'can produce'. The manuscript punctuation supports this theory, and the 'I repeat' is still appropriate—the paragraph opens with the words 'Third, Belgium . . .'. We must then assume that the whole of the existing paragraph from 'the graves unclosed' to the end is an afterthought, a flight of the imagination irresistibly aroused by the memories crowding into Charlotte Brontë's mind: partly, no doubt, carried away by her delight in the purple passage for its style's sake, but much more powerfully moved in spirit by the still vivid recollection of her life in Brussels. Her words have a poignancy more in keeping with the sad autumnal memories of Lucy Snowe than the tranquil 'sweet summer evening' of the professor.

One other instance may show her consciousness of the difficulties of first-person technique. In the sentence 'Her mission was upstairs; I have followed her sometimes and watched her' (MS. p. 320; xxv. 228), 'I have followed' replaces a cancelled, unfinished phrase, 'there she entered[d]'—as if Charlotte suddenly remembered that the 'I' of the story was not an omnipresent narrator.<sup>1</sup> The scene is conceived as a drama or mime (cf. 'in low soliloquy'), and the numerous parentheses are rather awkward: notice too the slight discrepancies in tense and time: 'I have followed her sometimes . . .'; 'the night I followed . . .'; 'that evening at least, and usually I believe . . .' (xxv. 228-9). This clumsiness is understandable if the interpolations were introduced at a late stage in composition.

It is noticeable that passages dealing with Hunsden often contain an especially large number of alterations, and though these may not be individually very significant, they show perhaps some of the difficulty Charlotte found in presenting this character.

For example, pages 326 to 333 of the manuscript (xxv. 237-47), which are concerned with Hunsden and the Lucia affair, contain seventeen alterations or insertions, some of appreciable length and importance; whereas a random selection of non-Hunsden passages yields results like the following:

<sup>1</sup> The episode derives from Mary Percy's visit to her children's nursery in *History of Angria*, Part III (29 April 1836: *S.H.B., Miscellaneous Writings*, ii. 148) where the narrator is an impersonal observer.

- MS. pp. 47 to 54 (v. 75-vi. 85) (last interview with Edward): six alterations—one by Nicholls.
- MS. pp. 79 to 85 (vii. 128-38) (Pelet and his pupils; Madame Pelet): seven alterations.
- MS. pp. 144 to 149 (xiv. 240-50) (pupils and first lesson at Mlle Reuter's): four alterations—one important.
- MS. pp. 212 to 218 (xix. 58-68) (professor's first visit to Frances's room): four small alterations.

Even the carefully revised opening of Chap. vii yields only ten alterations in MS. pp. 64 to 70 (vii. 103-13), though these are admittedly fairly substantial.

The Hunsden alterations indicate, I think, that his character had not completely crystallized in the author's mind—that she was still shaping it as she revised her fair copy. Hunsden originally had a 'tall figure' and 'dark locks': the final version reads, 'a tall figure, long and dark locks . . .' (MS. p. 38; iv. 61), an addition not very appropriate to the rest of the sentence, where 'figure, voice, and general bearing' 'impressed me with the notion of something powerful and massive' in contrast to the 'small, and even feminine,' lineaments. But the Byronic (and Angrian) 'long locks' accentuate the essential romanticism of the character—a romanticism partly intentional, but possibly, as here, acting more powerfully on Charlotte's imagination than was consistent with the nature and dimensions of the character or book.

Two or three omissions affect the character of the professor. In Chap. xiv the author at first wrote, 'Once I laid my hand on her [Sylvie's] head and stroked her hair gently in token of approbation' (MS. p. 145; xiv. 242); '... and stroked her hair gently . . .' is cancelled. In Chap. xviii, '... a rare glance of interest, or a warm, cherishing touch of the hand; deep respect . . .' becomes '... a rare glance of interest, or a cordial and gentle word; real respect . . .' (MS. p. 180; xviii. 6). In both cases the final version deliberately avoids the warmth and physical intimacy of the original; in the first case understandably enough: contemporary readers found the professor's descriptions of his pupils unpleasant: and Charlotte herself must have realized that caresses between master and pupil were in somewhat dubious taste. In the second instance, she wishes to make physical attraction between William and Frances secondary; and there is considerable artistic value in the reserve and remoteness maintained right up to the climax of the uncontrollable 'tiger-leap' impulse in Chap. xxii. (Compare, '... her hand shrunk away . . .', xxii. 155.) That such exclusion is intentional seems conclusively proved by a third deletion, this time almost immediately before the 'tiger-leap'. The passage which now reads, '... no child, but a girl of nineteen; and she might be mine' was originally, '... a girl of

nineteen, and I stole a look at Jane's face and shape; they pleased, they suited me, the well-formed head, the expressive lineaments, and she might be mine . . .' (MS. p. 277; xxiii. 162). The passage which follows makes it quite clear that Charlotte was not being coy or prudish in making this omission. She is merely underlining a theme important in this and in her better-known novels: the primacy of spiritual affinity. The professor's feeling is strong because it is an 'inward glow', and remains so until its revelation can be expressed fully and without reserve. On the other hand, Charlotte has been careful not to exclude physical attraction entirely. In Chap. xiv, 'chiefly' replaces 'but' in '. . . the toil-worn, fagged, probably irritable tutor, blind almost to beauty, insensible to airs and graces, glories chiefly in certain mental qualities' (MS. p. 144; xiv. 240).

These changes in meaning do, I think, throw light on Charlotte's treatment of her own experience in this first novel, and possibly reveal some of her difficulties in dealing with certain characters or themes. It remains to consider changes in expression which seem to have been made primarily for the sake of style.

The stylistic alterations are varied in character, but a high proportion of them (about one-third) arise from the writer's desire to avoid repetition of a word or phrase. For example:

1. MS. p. 6 (i. 7): 'determined hostility' becomes 'persevering hostility'.  
Cf. 'determined race' (top of p. 7) and 'determined enmity' (previous sentence).
2. MS. p. 9 (i. 13): 'further intercourse' becomes 'further communication'.  
Cf. 'future intercourse' later in the same sentence.
3. MS. p. 9 (i. 13): 'will I think operate' becomes 'will I fancy operate'.  
Cf. 'I do not think' beginning the same sentence.
4. MS. p. 17 (ii. 26): 'that was passing' becomes 'that was going on'.  
Cf. 'we passed' and 'Workpeople were passing' on the same page.
5. MS. p. 19 (ii. 28): 'drew out' becomes 'took out'.  
Cf. 'drawer' in the same sentence.
6. MS. p. 23 (iii. 35): 'small fund' becomes 'slender fund'.  
Cf. 'small lodgings' earlier in the same sentence.
7. MS. p. 46 (v. 73): 'be found in' becomes 'be derived from [his society]'.  
Cf. 'find pleasure in', p. 72.

These may be taken as typical. Similar examples occur throughout *The Professor* at irregular intervals, but with no very noticeable concentration in any one part: that is, the book seems to have undergone a fairly systematic pruning at this level. In Charlotte Brontë's writing the iterative habit is unusually strong, and so natural to her style that it persists at a very late stage of composition. Often the repeated words are the key to a character or situation, for her attitudes are usually strongly defined. It is

significant that she does not invariably alter the second of a pair of words. Each sentence has been carefully considered, and, as in Example 2, the first element may be changed. This seems to point to a later rather than a concurrent re-reading.

Sometimes she is unnecessarily eager to avoid recurrence. The repeated 'think' of Example 3 was natural and emphatic, more appropriate to spoken words than 'I fancy', though the whole speech is, of course, intentionally rather stilted. But one would not quarrel with most of the alterations: 'slender' and 'derived' are satisfactory, possibly preferable to the original. (The latter may indeed be purely stylistic preference: the connexion with 'find' is rather slight.) Sometimes the change is a definite improvement: the 'persevering hostility' of Example 1 is a total variation on the previous 'determined enmity'; in this, in its rhythmic quality and its formality, it is entirely in keeping with the peculiar mannered rhetoric of the whole passage.

The Preface to *The Professor* leads one to expect that stylistic changes will be away from the 'ornamented and redundant' and towards the 'plain and homely'. But one or two instances of an opposite tendency occur, and it is interesting to speculate on the motives for these.

For example, the opening chapter of the Brussels section, already in an 'ornamented' and poetic strain, has been even more refined in revision. 'My happiness possessed an edge whetted to the finest . . .' becomes 'My sense of enjoyment . . .'; ' . . . he shall see a glorious sunrise . . .' becomes ' . . . he shall behold . . .'; 'over a mountain horizon . . .' becomes 'over the eastern horizon . . .' and 'I mounted now a hill . . .', ' . . . the hill . . .' (MS. p. 65; vii. 104-5). The very minuteness of the alterations is revealing. The author wishes to give her picture the greatest possible definition, her mood the greatest possible exultation.

Early critics remarked on the 'unchecked naturalness of expression' in *The Professor*; or, if they were less favourably disposed, its 'rough, bold, coarse truthfulness of expression, . . . compressed style'.<sup>2</sup> The manuscript shows how often Charlotte intensified her already 'bold' style: adding a defining adverb or adjective, choosing a stronger noun or verb. 'Always' is inserted in 'Edward's letters had been such as to prevent the engendering or harbouring of delusions of this sort' (MS. p. 8; i. 11); 'Continual' in 'I will place my cup under this dropping' (MS. p. 21; ii. 32). 'Many' replaces 'some' in ' . . . many called me miser at the time' (MS. p. 23; iii. 36). 'Pittance' replaces 'salary' in ' . . . the master grudged every penny of that hard-earned pittance' (MS. p. 35; iv. 54). It is noticeable that most of these serve to bring out the harshness of Edward Crimsworth or the keen resentment of William against Edward.

<sup>1</sup> *The Critic*, 15 June 1857.

<sup>2</sup> *Athenaeum*, 13 June 1857.



This kind of intensification is closely linked with character, and occurs in clearly defined areas rather than in diffusion throughout the novel.

There is, however, a more general tendency to add descriptive details: X— becomes a 'mushroom' place (MS. p. 31; ii. 48); Vanderkelkov not only 'moon-faced' but 'thick-set' (MS. p. 74; vii. 120); Caroline's teeth are 'sparkling' (MS. p. 101; x. 166) (though her hair is no longer 'jetty'); and the fact that the professor 'crossed the Place royale' is a later addition (MS. p. 201; xix. 41). The impression given is one of vivid recollection of reality: Charlotte described things clearly because they were in every detail clear to her inward eye.

Examples of the opposite process—lowering of style, reduction of emphasis—are comparatively rare, and not very significant. In Chap. xxv, for example, 'the doom preparing for old Northern despotisms' becomes the tamer 'sentiments entertained by resolute minds respecting old Northern despotisms' (MS. p. 327; xxv. 239); and in Chap. xii an ornately developed metaphor is simplified: 'She laid her hand on the jewel within;' was originally, 'she laid her hand on the brooch of the cornelian [carnelian?] heart within; . . .' (MS. p. 125; xii. 208).

Minor stylistic changes abound. They are of various kinds, but on the whole show Charlotte's concern for the more closely defined as opposed to the general term. 'Observing' replaces 'seeing' (MS. p. 117; xii. 195), and 'perceived', 'saw' (MS. p. 39; iv. 60); 're-cast' for 'sporting with' maintains a figure of speech in Chap. iv (MS. p. 40; iv. 63). Such changes are more noticeable towards the end of the novel.

Some alterations are made for the sake of euphony: 'innate', for example, was a rejected first term in 'redolent of native and ineradicable vulgarity . . .' (MS. p. 143; xiv. 239); 'heath' became 'moorland' in Chap. xxv; 'whose waters still run pure, whose swells of moorland preserve in some ferny glens, that lie between them, the very primal wildness of nature . . .' (MS. p. 325; xxv. 236); and 'still' became 'hushed' in 'The north was hushed, the south silent . . .' (MS. p. 204; xix. 45).

Such alterations give convincing evidence of a minute and thorough revision. It would seem that Mrs. Gaskell's famous description of Charlotte Brontë's method of writing requires qualification. She praised her 'singular felicity in the choice of words': 'One set of words was the truthful mirror of her thoughts; no others, however identical in meaning, would do. . . . She never wrote down a sentence until she clearly understood what she wanted to say, had deliberately chosen the words, and arranged them in their right order' (*Life*, Chap. xv). This may have been true of the 'pencilled scraps of paper' seen by Mrs. Gaskell: it certainly was not true of the fair copy of *The Professor*.



11. *The First Edition*

It is obviously important that the printed text should accurately represent the manuscript of a writer who took so much care over minute details. And on the whole Charlotte Brontë was well served by her publishers. They were careful and reliable, and she appreciated their giving her works 'every advantage which good paper, clear type, and a seemly outside can supply' (*S.H.B.*, ii. 149). She also thanked them for punctuating the proof-sheets of *Jane Eyre*, as she thought their 'mode of punctuation a great deal more correct and rational' than her own (*S.H.B.*, ii. 142).

One therefore expects Smith, Elder's edition of *The Professor* to be of a good standard: and comparison with the manuscript shows in fact a high degree of accuracy. There are, however, some half dozen errors that would no doubt have been corrected if the author herself had read the proofs.

1. 'cup' has been misread 'cups' in Chap. ii (MS. p. 14; ii. 22). An elaborate 'p' is responsible. The correct version is obviously preferable: 'a valley . . . held in its cup the great town of X—.'
2. 'Semi-collong?' in Chap. x should be 'Simi-collong?' (MS. p. 102; x. 168).
3. Charlotte Brontë was not responsible for the incorrect use of 'perspicuity' in Chap. x. She wrote 'perspicacity' (MS. p. 105; x. 172).
4. 'Look at this little woman! . . .' should be '. . . this little real woman . . .' (MS. p. 107; x. 175).
5. 'worky-day' has been 'corrected' to 'work-day' (MS. p. 120; xii. 199).
6. It was "'inconvenant'" and not "'inconvenient'" for the professor to overlook his pupils (MS. p. 128; xii. 213).
7. The Crimsworths' maid is quite clearly 'Mimie' and not 'Minnie' (MS. p. 312; xxv. 215).

All these errors have been retained in subsequent editions, except for No. 6, corrected in the Dent edition of 1893, and its later reprints.

The printed version also gives little idea of the nature and extent of Charlotte Brontë's capitalization, which is extremely idiosyncratic. A certain amount has been retained, but this is often misleading, for it underlines some passages at the expense of others to which the author gave equal emphasis. It is also quite conventional, marking, for example, many of the personified abstracts, but reducing to normality words which for the author had a very special kind of life.

Notice, for instance, the inconsistent treatment of two similar passages—both dealing with Mlle Reuter, who often provokes this kind of analysis. In Chap. xx capitals are retained: '. . . I knew her former feeling was unchanged. Decorum now repressed, and Policy masked it, but Opportunity would be too strong for either of these—Temptation would shiver their restraints . . .' (MS. p. 231; xx. 90). Yet the personification here is

less strongly realized than in Chap. xv, where the capitals are omitted. I give the manuscript version:

... the fact is that as it was her nature to doubt the reality and undervalue the worth of Modesty, Affection, Disinterestedness, to regard these qualities as foibles of character; so it was equally her tendency to consider Pride, Hardness, Selfishness as proofs of strength. She would trample on the neck of Humility, she would kneel at the feet of Disdain; she would meet Tenderness with secret contempt, Indifference she would woo with ceaseless assiduities; Benevolence, Devotedness, Enthusiasm were her Antipathies; for Dissimulation and Self-Interest she had a preference—they were real wisdom in her 'eyes'÷; Moral and physical Degradation, mental and bodily Inferiority she regarded with indulgence... to Violence, Injustice, Tyranny she succumbed, they were her natural masters— . . . (MS. p. 155; xv. 260)

In Chap. iv the original capitalization shows that words which now appear to be merely qualifying adjectives should have the force of nouns: '... they two should have been my household gods, from which my Darling, my Cherished-in-secret, Imagination, the tender and the mighty, should never, either by softness or strength, have severed me . . .' (MS. p. 33; iv. 52).

Capitalized words often occur in the 'visionary' passages: in Chap. v, 'you dare to dream of Congeniality, Repose, Union' (MS. p. 46; v. 73), and in Chap. vii, 'Thoughts, Feelings, Memories that slept, are seen by me ascending from the clods . . .' (MS. p. 65; vii. 103). The capitals mark these qualities as 'visions': Charlotte Brontë evidently feels and intends that we should feel them to have a palpable form. However uncongenial to modern taste, this is undeniably the mode of her imagination. Their absence, too, weakens the affinity with eighteenth-century prose and poetry which is an important element in her style. Again, capitals, by their purely mechanical function of arresting the eye, indicate a special emphasis, which would require, if the passage were spoken, a slow enunciation with marked pauses; and it is clearly most important to bring out the rhythmical qualities in, for example, an evocation of the past like that in Chap. vii, where the 'meaning' is primarily emotional.

There is plainly too much capitalization, and many instances—the characteristic marking of "The Climax" (MS. p. 45; v. 72) and 'The Garden' (MS. p. 91; ix. 149), and of 'He' (Hunsden) (MS. p. 248; xxii. 118)—were considered by the printers too eccentric to be acceptable. I think, nevertheless, that a case can be made out for more than occurs in the First Edition. The original 'Master' especially can be justified, for its capitalization is a useful reminder of the centrality of the 'master' theme: at iii. 38, for example, it is Edward Crimsworth who is the

'Master' (MS. p. 24) whereas later it is, of course, William to whom Frances turns as the 'Master in all things' (MS. p. 318; xxv. 225).

We are fortunate that in *The Professor* (unlike *Villette*, where many phrases are literally cut out) so many of the author's first thoughts may be examined. The manuscript allows us to see something of the careful craftsmanship which, together with a more fortunate inspiration, helped to create *Jane Eyre*, *Shirley*, and *Villette*. Not least, it reveals the need for a text which shall more accurately represent the author's intentions.

## YEATS'S CHRISTIAN MYSTERY PLAYS

By PETER URE

*All things have value according to the clarity  
of their expression of themselves.*

THE two plays about Christianity, *Calvary* (1921) and *The Resurrection* (begun in 1925 and later rewritten), are often coupled together, and have been used mainly, if not entirely, as clues to Yeats's philosophy of history, his theism, or atheism.<sup>1</sup>

On Christianity, so far as they are relevant to the plays, his thoughts can be described briefly, without doing them very much injustice. He saw the pagan world, in particular the world of Greece and Rome, as a *primary* civilization; at the time of Christ's coming it was drawing to its foreordained end in the cyclical movement of history and was becoming subject to the loss of control which heralded the birth of the next age. This next, or Christian, age was *antithetical* to its predecessor. It begins with the Annunciation of a God who seeks to live like a man while teaching that man must seek to live like God. Yeats's favourite gnomic phrase for this, which he uses at the end of *The Resurrection* and elsewhere, was a saying borrowed from Heraclitus: 'God and man die each other's life, live each other's death.' This riddling aphorism, which can be shown to have a connexion with the lines in 'Byzantium', 'I hail the superhuman, | I call it death-in-life and life-in-death', can be sorted out, and the chief *loci* indicated, in this way:

(1) God dies man's life, or life-in-death: the dead God is like a live man (the resurrection, the journey to Emmaus, the beating heart of the resurrected Christ in *The Resurrection*).

(2) God lives man's death, or death-in-life: the eternal God becomes a man, and dies.

(3) Man dies God's life, or life-in-death: the dead man is like a living God; he cannot die, or cannot find the death appropriate to man (Lazarus in *Calvary*).

(4) Man lives God's death, or death-in-life: the living man endeavours to live like an immortal, spiritual creature, to 'ascend to Heaven', or to be, like the resurrected Christ, 'a phantom with a beating heart'. In this way man diminishes his humanity and the self no longer claims 'as by a soldier's

<sup>1</sup> See especially T. R. Henn, *The Lonely Tower* (London, 1950), pp. 194-5, 268-9; R. Ellmann, *The Identity of Yeats* (London, 1954), pp. 260-3; F. A. C. Wilson, *W. B. Yeats and Tradition* (London, 1958), pp. 58-68.

right | A charter to commit the crime once more'.<sup>1</sup> Man renounces the self and tries to live according to a pattern drawn from the God who dies. The saint and the anchorite who retire to the desert and whose 'joy it is to do nothing, to think nothing'<sup>2</sup> become the supreme models for humanity:

Fix every wandering thought upon  
That quarter where all thought is done.<sup>3</sup>

They become vessels filled with the divine life, not their own life; their desert-world is 'changed into a featureless clay and can be run through their fingers'.<sup>4</sup>

*The Resurrection*, in particular, if suitably correlated with other documents, can be made to yield much complicated information about such matters as the historical cycles, Yeats's views on Babylonian astronomy, or his knowledge of what a certain fourth-century sophist, whose words are recorded in Eunapius's life of Aedesius, said about 'a fabulous formless darkness tyrannizing over the fairest things on earth'.<sup>5</sup>

*Calvary* and *The Resurrection* are partial and dramatic realizations of this complex of ideas, especially as it bears upon the role of Jesus the Man-God. But they are not 'texts for exposition', and there is some danger that their properties as plays may go unexamined.

A writer of drama must observe the form as carefully as if it were a sonnet, but he must always deny that there is any subject-matter which is in itself dramatic—any especial round of emotion fitted to the stage, or that a play has no need to await its audience or to create the interest it lives by.<sup>6</sup>

It would, of course, be pointless to deny that these are plays of ideas, and that the first impulse that the student of Yeats's work as a whole is likely to feel when he encounters them will be one of curiosity about Yeats's readings of religion and history. If this were all, they could, by such tests as the poet himself was normally willing to apply, be written off as dramatic failures. But the fact that they are plays of ideas (a respectable enough theatrical kind) has its own aspect of formal significance. Do they create the interest they live by?

## II

Little attention has ever been paid to *Calvary*. Sturge Moore, when he was designing the cover for *Four Plays for Dancers*, liked it least of the four.<sup>7</sup> It is certainly in a different category from the other plays in that

<sup>1</sup> 'A Dialogue of Self and Soul', *Collected Poems* (1950), p. 266.

<sup>2</sup> *A Vision* (1925), pp. 113-14.

<sup>3</sup> 'A Dialogue of Self and Soul.'

<sup>4</sup> *A Vision* (1925), p. 186. See 'Yeats's Demon and Beast', *Irish Writing*, no. 31 (1955), 42-50.

<sup>5</sup> See 'Yeats and the Prophecy of Eunapius', *N. & Q.*, N.S. i (1954), 358-9.

<sup>6</sup> Preface to *The Poetical Works* (New York, 1907), II. v.

<sup>7</sup> *W. B. Yeats and T. Sturge Moore*, ed. U. Bridge (London, 1953), p. 40.

collection. In it, Christ 'dreams His passion through' and is confronted with images of those whom he cannot save: Lazarus, Judas, the Three Roman Soldiers, who ask nothing of God, and Heron, Eagle, and Swan, which are content in their solitude. With its Musicians' songs and descriptions of the scene, its bare stage, masked actors, and final dance (of the Roman soldiers round the Cross), the play has the familiar Noh features. It also has the iterative image-cluster—this time of bird and animal—which Yeats believed to be a principal device of the Noh. In a play on so tiny a scale everything counts, and this imagery contributes much to its structure.

The first song for the folding and unfolding of the cloth about the heron staring at its own image in the moonlit water, with its refrain 'God has not died for the white heron', is not the key to the meaning of the play. It is the first of four variations on the theme of Christ's powerlessness to save those who can live without salvation. The play consists of these four variations; the theme itself is not heard except through them. It is important, if obscurity is to be avoided, that the playwright should show us how each variation relates to the common theme. The refrain of the song about the heron is clear enough; it is more doubtful if the full thematic significance of the rest of it can be grasped at a first hearing, although the notion of crazy self-absorption is plainly put:

Although half famished he'll not dare  
Dip or do anything but stare  
Upon the glittering image of a heron,  
That now is lost and now is there.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Four Plays for Dancers* (London, 1921), p. 72. All my quotations from *Calvary* are from this text. No music for the songs in *Calvary* is printed in *Four Plays for Dancers*. Yeats had once believed in the possibility of establishing a right relationship between words and music in his plays:

If a song is brought into a play it does not matter to what school the musician belongs if every word, if every cadence, is as audible and expressive as if it were spoken. . . . One must ask . . . for music that shall mean nothing, or next to nothing, apart from the words (*Plays and Controversies*, pp. 129-30).

But he despaired of finding an adequately submissive musician, and had by now, as he put it in his 'Commentary' on *The King of the Great Clock Tower* (Dublin, Cuala Press, 1934, p. 18), 'given up the fight', and cynically resigned himself to the fact that no audience would ever be able to hear properly any words of his which were accompanied by music. His cynicism took the form of regarding his songs as 'secrets'—always in the sense that he did not expect the words to be heard in the theatre (but they could be consulted in the book), and sometimes also in the sense that the song was about a mystery or secret. This hidden meaning could also be solved by 'turning to a note' (see *Four Plays for Dancers*, p. 135; the Cuala Press edition of *The King of the Great Clock Tower*, p. 19). The degree of 'secrecy' in the meaning of the songs seems to vary from play to play, but they are not often as obscure as they are in *The Resurrection*, where the songs have a special history (see below, p. 182, n. 4).

The songs in *Calvary* have other functions to perform in addition to constituting the first variation on the common theme. It follows that they relate to that theme differently from the way in which the three self-contained episodes of Lazarus, Judas, and the Roman Soldiers relate to it. Their chill detachment expresses the 'subjectivity' of a world detached from Christ; it also holds the play within a frame and helps to give it the quality of 'distance' which Yeats admired in the Noh plays.<sup>1</sup> By establishing its bounds so clearly the songs order the life of the play, and maintain this control by means of the image of the heron, which recurs in the body of the work. Such strict ordering is the more needed here because the play has no single central action, as *The Dreaming of the Bones* has, nor structural core, as *The Words upon the Window-Pane* and *Purgatory* have. It simply presents us with a series of events; each of these is of the same length and importance, and there is no 'working to a climax'.<sup>2</sup> The danger that the series will break down into arbitrary and inconsequential incidents is avoided by what the songs do.

There is a contrast, not of theme, but of style and feeling, between the songs and the other elements in the play. These other elements are centred on the rendering of Lazarus, Judas, and the Soldiers. The songs are impersonal, remote, and symbolic; Lazarus and the others are individually, almost naturalistically, done. So, too, is the Musicians' description of the scene when it is compared with their opening song. A similar contrast is observable between Christ and the other characters.

It is important to understand that the play does not attempt to represent Christ's suffering. The play is his 'dreaming-back':

Good Friday's come,  
The day whereon Christ dreams His passion through.  
He climbs up hither but as a dreamer climbs.  
The cross that but exists because He dreams it  
Shortens His breath and wears away His strength.

This theme is not used in the way it is used in *Purgatory* or *The Words upon the Window-Pane*, but in order to make the suffering remote rather than actual. Christ's speeches are all very short (the longest is of four lines) and they often take the form of oracular utterances, majestic and theophanic: 'I have conquered death And all the dead shall be raised up again'; 'I do my Father's will'; 'My Father put all men into my hands'. Christ is at the centre of the scene not as a tortured victim but as the pantokrator, Byzantine and unrealistic, rigid like the figure in an icon. There is only one place where he betrays this role: in the Musicians' description of the three Marys casting their tears upon the ground before his blood-dabbled feet.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Essays* (1924), p. 278.

<sup>2</sup> Preface to *The Poetical Works* (New York, 1907), II, v.

<sup>3</sup> *Four Plays for Dancers*, p. 76.



By contrast, Lazarus and Judas are both individualized. The part of each builds up towards a longer speech in which this individuality and realism come to a climax. Lazarus reproaches Christ for dragging him up to the light, demands Christ's death for the one he has been robbed of, and describes (with one of the animal-images that run through the play) how the theft was accomplished:

Alive I never could escape your love,  
And when I sickened towards my death I thought  
I'll to the desert, or chuckle in a corner  
Mere ghost, a solitary thing. I died  
And saw no more until I saw you stand  
In the opening of the tomb; 'Come out!' you called;  
You dragged me to the light as boys drag out  
A rabbit when they have dug its hole away;  
And now with all the shouting at your heels  
You travel towards the death I am denied.

Lazarus, unlike Christ, is visualized; his face is death-hungry, and the crowd shrinks from him. He beats in vain against the marmoreal stillness of the central figure.

So also with Judas. Lazarus is an emotional figure, thirsting after the personal death beyond his reach. Judas is intellectual; his business is to conduct a theological dispute with Christ during which he says fifty words to every two or three of the other speaker. He betrayed Christ in order to be free of him, in order to be himself again and not an object of the all-powerful God. Christ's statement that God had determined from the beginning that somebody should betray him produces Judas's long assertion of identity, corresponding to Lazarus's speech:

It was decreed that somebody betray you—  
I'd thought of that—but not that I should do it,  
I the man Judas, born on such a day,  
In such a village, such and such his parents;  
Nor that I'd go with my old coat upon me  
To the High Priest, and chuckle to myself  
As people chuckle when alone, and that I'd do it  
For thirty pieces and no more, no less,  
And neither with a nod, a look, nor a sent message,  
But with a kiss upon your cheek. I did it,  
I, Judas, and no other man, and now  
You cannot even save me.

Browning might have written in this fashion had he attempted a dramatic monologue for Judas. But all this intellectual energy is at a discount.

Christ keeps his marble repose. During the final episode of the Roman Soldiers he speaks only two lines. The Soldiers are those who cast all upon the throw of the dice, asking nothing of Providence because they are content with Fortune. Their dance before the motionless figure on the cross repeats the contrast between stillness and movement.

These contrasts between the active and fixed, personal and impersonal, suffering which reaches out in gloating and accusation and suffering which is withdrawn and symbolic, are the formal devices fundamental to the play. They are also, of course, its larger meaning. The forms have been used to convey the ideas in this play of ideas. These are individuals who reject Christ because they cling to their selfhood, personal death, and freedom from the invading God who wants to turn them into what he is; they are 'subjective' men in the special Yeatsian sense.

The construction, both formal and conceptual, is completed by what we discover about Christ. Just as Lazarus, Judas, and the Soldiers form one movement, so Christ and the birds of the Musicians' songs form the counter-movement. The birds are the completest symbols of self-sufficient isolation:

The geer-eagle has chosen his part  
In blue deep of the upper air  
Where one-eyed day can meet his stare;  
He is content with his savage heart.  
God has not appeared to the birds.

God has not appeared to them, but this God is like them. By this subtle collocation (the songs are finally seen to be *about* Christ as well as about the birds) Yeats makes his last points. The stillness and loneliness of Christ are enhanced, and the songs are tied into the main antithesis of the play. As Yeats would have put it when writing in another mode, it is the subjective God who calls upon men to be his objects, who pours his own spirit into them. During a phase of civilization such as the Greek and Roman was, men are permitted to be their own objects: 'Man . . . remains separate. He does not surrender his soul. He keeps his privacy' (the Goddess, in Yeats's favourite Homeric image, takes Achilles by his yellow hair, not by his soul). During the Christian era, God, unique and solitary as the Eagle, which is the King of Birds, seeks, like the heron in the stream, to find everywhere his own image and to change what he loves into himself, unlike the lovers in *A Vision* who 'would not change that which we love'. When God acts towards men he acts towards his own image in them. Thus, 'the Good Samaritan discovers himself in the likeness of another, covered with sores and abandoned by thieves . . . and in that other serves himself'.<sup>1</sup> God pities men to the degree that they are not like him

<sup>1</sup> *A Vision* (1925), p. 187.

and must, for example, die; so he raises Lazarus. His power is absolute, so he can make Judas into his instrument. In *Calvary* both Judas and Lazarus are conceived as relicts of the elder civilization; they do not want to be completely God's objects but to remain themselves; they want to keep their subjectivity and selfhood, their privacy, and are not willing to 'sacrifice everything that the divine suffering might . . . descend into one's mind and soul' and to allow 'God . . . to take complete possession'.<sup>1</sup> The playwright's mind, as well as his eye, has seen Christ as the pantokrator in the Byzantine dome looking everywhere and asking for everything.

III

*Calvary* is successful in giving the 'feel' of the ideas upon which it is a play, although these are not given in the terminology of the metaphysical treatises. They are presented as movement round a medial stillness, as vortices of the intellectually active, death-hungry, or dancing selfhoods arranged about the god. The play does not quicken or deepen as it grows; it shows what it is by standing still and is short enough for the audience to hold it in their minds as a whole and range back and forth over it as they speculate on its meaning. This is an unusual form for a play of ideas, where normally we expect the ideas to be developed dialectically. In *The Resurrection* there is much more development of the dialectical variety. Some of the ideas are directly expressed in debates between the characters; the characters themselves are representative men, explaining what they represent instead of, as in *Calvary*, leaving it to be deduced from the way they describe what they have done. *The Resurrection* is more, however, than merely a discussion-play. Events are shown, not just talked about. And all the explanatory talk and commentary are in the end subordinated to the showing forth of their own meaning which is done by the events themselves. These events are arranged in a more ordinary dramatic pattern than the one to be found in *Calvary*. It is not a static pattern, ordered by interlocking contrasts, but a sequential one of exposition, conflict leading to mounting tension, and exploding into a catastrophe.

Yeats worked hard to achieve just this. In 1925, we are told, a first sketch of the play was read out 'to a few people, a Cabinet minister among them, who were frigid'.<sup>2</sup> This was the 'chaotic dialogue' of which he wrote in a letter to Mrs. Shakespear in December 1930: 'But now I have dramatic tension throughout'.<sup>3</sup> The narrative design and many of the ideas are curiously adumbrated in a passage written nearly thirty years before (in

<sup>1</sup> *Wheels and Butterflies* (London, 1934), p. 118.

<sup>2</sup> J. M. Hone, *W. B. Yeats 1865-1939* (London, 1942), p. 417.

<sup>3</sup> *Letters*, ed. Wade, p. 780.

1904). Its imagery suggests the Christian referents at the back of the writer's mind:

A Civilisation is very like a man or a woman, for it comes in but a few years into its beauty, and its strength, and then, while many years go by, it gathers and makes order about it, the strength and beauty going out of it the while, until in the end it lies there with its limbs straightened out and a clean linen cloth folded upon it. That may well be, and yet we need not follow among the mourners, for it may be, before they are at the tomb, a messenger will run out of the hills and touch the pale lips with a red ember, and wake the limbs to the disorder and the tumult that is life. Though he does not come, even so we will keep from among the mourners and hold some cheerful conversation among ourselves; for has not Virgil, a knowledgeable man and a wizard, foretold that other Argonauts shall row between cliff and cliff, and other fair-haired Achæans sack another Troy?<sup>1</sup>

The notion of holding 'some cheerful conversation' while an era lies dead seems a little touch of Lewis Carroll in the night of Yeats's later imagination of disaster as famously expressed in 'The Second Coming'. But in *The Resurrection* the allusions to the messenger, the mourners, and the Virgilian prophecy are made actual.

The play begins in a bustle of apparently unrelated movements: it is only gradually that we learn the rationale that makes a single event of them. The eleven apostles, unseen by the audience, are gathered in the upper room after the crucifixion. The mob is 'busy hunting Christians', but three followers of Jesus, a Hebrew, a Greek, and a Syrian (absent from the stage when the play begins), are ready to defend the stairway with their lives. Meanwhile another mob, the followers of Dionysus, are out in the streets dancing and worshipping as they carry the image of their dead god.

There is a further movement in the argument between Greek and Hebrew. Both are subjective men, like Lazarus and Judas in *Calvary*. To the Greek, Jesus was not a man but a spirit:

We Greeks understand these things. No god has ever been buried; no god has ever suffered. Christ only seemed to be born, only seemed to eat, seemed to sleep, seemed to walk, seemed to die.<sup>2</sup>

The gods do not covet earthly bodies, but are discovered only through contemplation; God does not 'die man's life'. The Hebrew is shocked because the Greek thinks of Jesus's life as only a simulacrum of human life, and of the crucifixion as a shadow-play. To the Hebrew it was the suffering of a man, 'the best man who ever lived', who 'some day when he was very

<sup>1</sup> *Plays and Controversies*, p. 99.

<sup>2</sup> *Wheels and Butterflies*, p. 116. All my quotations from *The Resurrection* are from this text.

tired . . . thought that he himself was the Messiah'. In his way, the Hebrew is glad that this has now been proved to be the case by the defeat and death of the supposed Messiah; earlier, when he acknowledged the Messianic claim, he had anticipated with dread the terrible burden this was going to impose on him, robbing him of his subjectivity and making him simply an object of the immanent God:

One had to give up all worldly knowledge, all ambition, do nothing of one's own will. Only the divine could have any reality. God had to take complete possession. It must be a terrible thing when one is old, and the tomb round the corner, to think of all the ambitions one has put aside; to think, perhaps, a great deal about women. I want to marry and have children.

He no longer has to become an anchorite and retire to the featureless desert.

If this were all, we would have the ideas clearly expressed but not dramatically presented. But Yeats relates this ideological argument between Greek and Hebrew both to the events of the plot and to a meaningful thematic accompaniment. Out of these three elements he contrives a dramatic unity. Thus the Hebrew is made to state the Christian position from the point of view of a believer in it who has just received proof of its falsity; he has reverted to what he was before the failed Messiah came. The Greek, meanwhile, is waiting for the proof of *his* position:

THE HEBREW. Proof?

THE GREEK. I shall have proof before nightfall.

THE HEBREW. You talk wildly, but a masterless dog can bay the moon.

The Greek has sent the third man, the Syrian, to the tomb 'to prove that there is nothing there', and he expects the messenger to return with the certain news that 'Jesus never had a human body', 'that he is a phantom and can pass through that wall; that he will so pass; that he will pass through this room; that he himself will speak to the apostles'. It is his confidence in this that prepares for the moment of intense excitement at the end of the play. Thus the Hebrew, with his 'proof' drawn from the crucifixion, and the Greek, with his 'proof' drawn from the resurrection, are not merely debating incompatible points of view; in judging by events, they relate their argument to a narrative sequence; the events in their turn share in the debate because they are assimilated into it as proofs. Sequence and debate are both put into time and await resolution by it.

The debate is joined to the accompaniment of a background of 'irrational force' and 'animal chaos'—the phrases are used in *A Vision*—which is represented by the worshippers of Dionysus in the street below. Their

rattles, drums, and cries, and their song ('Astrea's holy child') sound at intervals throughout the play. The worshippers abandon themselves to their god and become completely his objects; 'three days after the full moon, a full moon in March, they sing the death of the god and pray for his resurrection'. Although the parallels do not escape the audience, the Greek and the Hebrew are quite unaware of them. The self-abandonment, the monstrous ceremonies, the boys from the theatre dressed as girls, the barbaric din are merely disgusting, the work of mad, ambiguous creatures, 'such a thing [as] had never happened in this city before'. In providing an accompaniment of this kind Yeats was doing more than supplying factitious excitement or indulging himself in an exercise in comparative religion. There are, of course, good reasons in *A Vision* for the presence of such sectaries at such a moment in time,<sup>1</sup> but they are not given in the play. What the audience is given, in the place of this kind of detail, is the juxtaposition of two characters to whom religion is a matter for individual response, definition, discussion, and proof, with the worshippers of the dismembered god, to whom it is a matter for collective howling, drumming, and orgiastic frenzy. This is a contrast, achieved by formal antitheses (speech and song, beaten drums and anxious talk), which is similar in kind to those in *Calvary* between one mode of being and another. It generates the sense that the world of *The Resurrection* is throbbing with forces that make the stance, even the intellectuality (their power to argue about the issues), of Greek and Hebrew things which belong to a habit that is threatened and about to pass away.

But in *The Resurrection*, as not in *Calvary*, the spectator is made to participate by having the argument demonstrated upon his own pulse. The Greek awaiting his proof and the issue that hangs in the air between the reasoners and the worshippers, the phrenetic sect and the ordered cities, cohere together as they move together into a final event of compelling theatrical authority, the most consummate moment of its kind in all Yeats's plays. The Syrian messenger returns; Yeats must have been sorry that he could not call him a Babylonian, but he got as near to this as he could. 'Like a drunken man' he announces the tale told him by the Galilean women, of the appearance of Jesus to them, and of the empty sepulchre. He is convinced that something has happened which is outside the kind of knowledge and order to which the other two men are clinging. His excitement, contributing a note of hysteria to the argument, makes it intenser in tone and more rapid in pace, for the Greek and Hebrew had

<sup>1</sup> Yeats believed that the Second Annunciation (the first was that to Leda) was preceded by obscure intimations in the form of the oriental cults of the Roman empire which were influenced by Babylonian astrology and astronomy. These were the 'peacock's cry', the final loss of control of the old primary civilization as it was transformed into the antithetical Christian era (see *A Vision* (1937), p. 268).

been doing their duty as defenders of the apostles in a spirit of last-ditch, disciplined Stoicism:

THE SYRIAN. What if at the moment when knowledge and order seem complete that something appears? [*He has begun to laugh.*]

THE HEBREW. Stop laughing.

THE SYRIAN. What if the irrational return? What if the circle begin again?

THE HEBREW. Stop! He laughed when he saw Calvary through the window, and now you laugh.

THE GREEK. He too has lost control of himself.

THE HEBREW. Stop, I tell you. [*Drums and rattles.*]

THE SYRIAN. But I am not laughing. It is the people out there who are laughing.

THE HEBREW. No, they are shaking rattles and beating drums.

The Greek's laughter was close to the philosopher's cackle at a well-conducted argument; the Syrian's to the hysteria of the worshippers' self-abandon, merging into the noise in the streets.

Both Greek and Hebrew refuse to accept the implications of his message. To the Hebrew, it is the wishful 'dreams of women'; to the Greek, it is his proof at last that Jesus was a phantom, whose reappearance will show that God does not overwhelm man with miracle but permits him to keep his privacy. Meanwhile, the Dionysians, who have gone away to bury their god, are now returning through the streets with their cry of 'God has arisen'. Their dance is suspended suddenly as they turn eyes blind with ecstasy towards the house; two religions melt into one as the converging lines of the drama touch and what was an analogue becomes the thing itself. Even after the figure of Christ has made its silent entry, the empirical Greek is determined that what his senses will tell him will be the truth that he expects:

There is nothing here but a phantom, it has no flesh and blood. Because I know the truth I am not afraid. Look, I will touch it. It may be hard under my hand like a statue—I have heard of such things—or my hand may pass through it—but there is no flesh and blood. [*He goes slowly up to the figure and passes his hand over its side.*] The heart of a phantom is beating! The heart of a phantom is beating! [*He screams. The figure of Christ crosses the stage and passes into the inner room.*]

It is one of the oddest critical misjudgements that a dramatist who can contrive a moment so supremely thrilling as this—one in which all the movements of the play blaze up together into meaning and theatrical effect—should have been accused of writing plays which 'are little more than charades'.<sup>1</sup> 'I felt', Yeats wrote, recording how he encountered the

<sup>1</sup> L. MacNeice, *Poetry of W. B. Yeats* (London, 1941), p. 196.



original of the incident in Sir William Crookes's *Studies in Psychical Research*, '... the terror of the supernatural described by Job.'<sup>1</sup> He successfully administers to his audience the 'violent shock' which induces a sense of spiritual reality.<sup>2</sup> The 'terror of the supernatural' which Miss Mackenna merely talked about in *The Words upon the Window-Pane* passes before the face: 'Belief comes from shock and is not desired.'<sup>3</sup>

As plays of ideas, *Calvary* and *The Resurrection* are different in method, although they use a roughly similar set of ideas. *Calvary* presents its audience with an image for it to contemplate and does not attempt to draw its hearers into it more than is needed to get them to pay attention. *The Resurrection* is more dynamic; by increasingly converging lines of movement Yeats brings the spectator into position so that he can administer his 'violent shock'. Each play follows its chosen form 'as carefully as if it were a sonnet'. Yeats was willing to experiment, especially after he had discovered the Noh and completed *At the Hawk's Well* in 1916. The Noble Plays themselves were after all, he said, something that 'need absorb no one's life'. When he had done enough in that kind he would 'record all discoveries of method and turn to something else.'<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Wheels and Butterflies*, p. 109.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 110.

<sup>3</sup> *A Vision* (1937), p. 53.

<sup>4</sup> *Essays* (1924), p. 274. I have not discussed the two Songs with which *The Resurrection* opens and closes. Famous as poems from their inclusion in *The Tower* (1928), they were an addition to the original scheme of the play (see *Wheels and Butterflies*, p. 111); the last of the four stanzas was a still later addition, postdating *The Tower*. Although, except for this stanza, they are lyrical meditations on the theme of the play, intelligible in the light of it, they seem completely detachable from it, unlike the songs in *Calvary*.

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## NOTES

### WALDERE I. 29-31

—Nu sceal beaga leas  
 hworfan fram ðisse hilde,      hlafurd secan,  
 ealdne eðel,      oððe her ær swefan.

THE source of the difficulty in interpreting these lines is *hlafurd*. Most commentators have followed Müllenhof, who took it as subject, i.e. Gunther (*Guðhere*),<sup>1</sup> although, as Norman remarked, 'it is certainly odd that Hildegyp should refer to Guðhere as *hlafurd*',<sup>2</sup> and Cosijn felt tempted to regard it as the corruption of a place-name.<sup>3</sup> Trautmann<sup>4</sup> resorted to the desperate counsel of emendation and read *hleoburh secan* after *Beowulf* 912-13, 'hord ond hleoburh, hælepa rice, | eðel Scyldinga'. Yet the literal sense is perfectly plain. If *hlafurd* is construed naturally, as the object of *secan*, and *ealdne eðel* understood in apposition to it, we may translate: 'now is he fated either to return from this battle, seek his lord, the ancient homeland, without the treasure, or die here first'.<sup>5</sup>

The commentators have been unwilling to accept the meaning of the text as it stands, because of their *a priori* conception of the original legend of Walter and Hildegund (or the form of it used by the *Waldere*-poet), which they identify with the Latin *Waltharius*.<sup>6</sup> But on the face of it *Waldere* may be assumed to belong to the same early stratum as the other Old English poetry which deals with matter of the common-Germanic heroic

<sup>1</sup> *Zeitschrift f. deutsches Altertum*, xii (1860), 268: 'hlafurd steht eigentlich ἀπὸ κοινοῦ, als subjekt für beide infinitive', but he must have meant the subject of *secal*. So also Klaeber, *Anglia*, li (1927), 126-7; Holthausen, *Beowulf nebst den kleineren Denkmälern der Heldensage*, 5th edn. (Heidelberg, 1929), ii. 193; Krapp and Dobbie, *Anglo-Saxon Poetical Records* (New York, 1931-53), vi. 139. Dickins, *Runic and Heroic Poems* (Cambridge, 1915), p. 59, translates 'now ringless he shall leave this combat and return to the land of which he has long been lord, or perish here . . .'.  
<sup>2</sup> *Waldere* (London, 1933), p. 39.  
<sup>3</sup> *Verslagen en mededeelingen der kon. akad. van wetenschap, afd. letterkunde. Derde reeks*, xii (1895), 70.  
<sup>4</sup> *Bonner Beiträge zur Anglistik*, v (1900), 176; cf. also *ibid.* xvi (1904), 186-7.  
<sup>5</sup> Boer, *Zeitschrift f. deutsche Philologie*, lx (1908), 56, did accept *hlafurd* 'lord' as object of *secan*, but understood it as referring to Hagen (*Hagena*) in accordance with his fanciful reconstruction of the legend in which the roles of Gunther and Hagen were reversed. On this theory see Chadwick, *The Heroic Age* (Cambridge, 1926), pp. 137-8, and Norman, *op. cit.*, p. 26; its fate may have discouraged others from following the same interpretation.  
<sup>6</sup> e.g. Müllenhof, *op. cit.*, pp. 273-4; Cosijn, *op. cit.*, p. 57; Heusler, in Hoops, *Reallexikon*, iv. 477; Neckel, *Germanisch-Romanische Monatsschrift*, ix (1921), 210-13; Schneider, *Germanische Heldensage* (Berlin, 1929-34), i. 333; Norman, *op. cit.*, p. 20; Dobbie, *op. cit.*, pp. xxi-xxiii.

age;<sup>1</sup> hence our judgement of its evidence ought to be *a posteriori*, proceeding from the comparison of the text with itself and with the surviving examples of Old English epic technique, and reaching out to the other versions of the story only to assess the measure of their agreement with it. This method has become well established in handling the mythico-historical allusions in *Beowulf*, which stand in the same relationship to their analogues.

Taking this line of approach we may safely say that *secan* with *hlafurd* or similar words can only mean 'seek', i.e. 'visit' or 'return to', a lord, since the expression is well attested as a formula in Old English poetry:<sup>2</sup>

	Sceoldan Romwarena	
ofer heanne holm	hlaford secan.	( <i>Elene</i> , 981-2)
we purh holdne hige	hlaford pinne,	
sunu Healfdenes,	secan cwomon	
leodbyrgan.		( <i>Beo.</i> , 267-8) <sup>3</sup>

The *Waldere*-passage, as it stands, must therefore mean that Gunther, the subject of 25, *he . . . ongan*, and of 28, *Forsoc he*, is fated to return empty-handed to his own lord (or perish on the spot). Who this lord is is not mentioned in the fragments themselves, but, since the other versions agree that Attila was the lord from whom Walter and Hildegund fled and whose treasure they carried away, we may conclude that in the version of the story followed by the Old English poet Gunther is the leader of a force sent by Attila to deal with the fugitives and recover the treasure. This identification is a help in interpreting i. 4-7:

—oft æt hilde gedreas

swatfag and sweordwund | secg æfter oðrum,  
 Ætlan ordwiga. Ne læt pin ellen nu gyt  
 gedreosan to dæge.

<sup>1</sup> That *Waldere*, like *Beowulf*, belongs to 'The Age of Bede' is still the consensus of scholarly opinion; see Schneider, *op. cit.*, pp. 336, 343; also Magoun, *M.L.N.*, lix (1944), 498-9. The latest attempt to prove it a mere adaptation of *Waltharius* is by Panzer, *Der Kampf am Wasichenstein* (Speyer, 1948), esp. pp. 81 ff., but Wolff, *Erbe der Vergangenheit: Festgabe für Karl Helm* (Tübingen, 1951), pp. 71-81, has convincingly restated the accepted view.

<sup>2</sup> The traditional (oral-formulaic) character of OE. verse has recently been stressed by Magoun, *Speculum*, xxviii (1953), 446-63. He points out (p. 450) that the formula-system, in which the half-line formula remains unchanged by the replacement of a word with its synonym, as in the examples in the next footnote, was most useful to the OE. poet in meeting the exigencies of alliteration.

<sup>3</sup> Compare *Beo.*, 199-201, 1597-8 (*mærne peoden*), *Beo.*, 417 (*peoden Hroðgar*), *Beo.*, 1921-2, *Wanderer*, 25 (*sinces bryttan*), *Beo.*, 375-6 (*holdne wine*), *Genesis*, 2294-5 (*waldend*), and, referring to 'the Lord', i.e. God the Father, or Christ, *Menologium*, 209-10 (*wealdend*), *Harrowing of Hell*, 31-32, *Beo.*, 186-7, *Andreas*, 600 (*dryhten*), *Dream of the Rood*, 133 (*wuldres cyning*). With the parallelism of *hlafurd* and *ealdne edel* compare *Christ*, 571-2, *gesecan sawla nergend | gæsta giefstol*, and *Menologium*, 149-50, *sohte weroda god | . . . sigefæstne ham*.

Frequently in the battle there fell, stained with blood and slain with the sword, one man after another, (many a) champion of Attila. Let not your courage fail then today.

Here *Ætlan ordwiga* is taken as an appositive to *secg æfter oðrum*, referring to the men sent by Attila (*Ætla*), rather than as a vocative belonging to the following exhortation. This gives a smoother reading and better sense as enjambment is generally preferred to end-stopping within a verse-paragraph, and it seems out of place in the context to call Walter, the fugitive, 'champion of Attila'.<sup>1</sup>

On the internal evidence there is one apparent objection to our identification of Attila as Gunther's lord: the latter is addressed in ii. 14 as *wine Burgenda*. *Wine* with the genitive plural of national names, however, does not invariably mean a sovereign, independent prince. In *Genesis*, 2817, Abraham is called *wine Ebrea* by his own lord, and in *Beowulf*, 1418, we find the plural *winum Scyldinga* 'princes of the Scyldings', i.e. all the representatives of the line of Scyld, although only one was actually reigning.<sup>2</sup> Conversely, *leod*, which usually means a retainer, is applied to a royal personage and joined with the national name three times in *Beowulf*.<sup>3</sup> Gunther could therefore be called *wine Burgenda* while in the service of Attila. This time of service may have been in his youth, or during a period of exile, like that of Theodoric, but the exact circumstances of his residence at Attila's court may just as easily have been left vague, like those of

<sup>1</sup> This difficulty was noted by Boer, op. cit., p. 51, who assumed an original version in which Walter was not a hostage, but a warrior of Attila. The usual interpretation is based upon *Waltharius*, e.g.:

Qui [sc. Waltharius et Hagano] simul ingenio  
crescentes mentis et ævo  
robore vincebant fortes animoque sophistas,  
donec jam cunctos superarent fortiter Hunos.  
Militiæ primos tunc Attila fecerat illos,  
sed haud immerito, quoniam, si quando moveret  
bella, per insignes isti micuere triumphos.

But this looks like an instance of 'epic' elaboration, other examples of which have been collected by Neckel, op. cit., pp. 141-3; it is inconsistent with the version of the legend in *Pǫrnirssaga*, cap. 241-4, although *Valltari* appears as a Hunnish warrior elsewhere in that heterogeneous compilation.

Denum eallum wæs  
winum Scyldinga weorc on mode  
to gepolianne, ðegne monegum,  
oncyðu eorla gehwæm. (1417-20)

Here the poet first mentions the nation as a whole, in which he then distinguishes between the princes of the blood and ordinary thanes, and finally drives home his first point by reiterating it distributively, that the finding of *Æschere's* head was a cause for complaint to each individual.

<sup>3</sup> 1053, 2159 *leod Scyldinga* (*Scyldunga*), 2551 *Weder-geata leod*.

Breca's stay among the Geats.<sup>1</sup> Attila has been called an Arthur-figure, at whose court all the famous men of the age were likely to turn up.<sup>2</sup> If Gunther was there too, the difficulty of assigning to him the speech in ii. 1-10 in which the speaker mentions Theodoric is removed.<sup>3</sup>

A further conclusion to be drawn from this re-examination of *Waldere*-fragments is that they agree with the *Valltari* episode of the Norse *Þiðriks-saga af Bern* in making Attila the instigator of the pursuit, and that *Waltharius* does not represent the original form of the story, but has complicated it by making Gunther act independently.<sup>4</sup> In showing that *Waldere* differs from *Waltharius*, and improves upon it in an essential point, this conclusion will help to vindicate the priority in time and the independent value of the Old English poem.

J. D. PHEIFER

#### AN UNPUBLISHED FRAGMENT OF VERSE BY HERRICK

THE Bodleian Library lately acquired a folio manuscript containing about 250 poems, copied by several hands during the first half of the seventeenth century. Its shelf-mark is now MS. Eng. Poet. c. 50. This manuscript belonged to Bishop Percy; he came by it mysteriously, someone of extraordinary modesty having left it at his house with this note enclosed:

An Admirer of Dr. Percy's poetical Works but a stranger to his Person tho' not to the Merit of his Character begs leave to introduce a MS. for his perusal—the Owner apprehends that a considerable (or at least some) Part of the Collection may be in print—if the Perusal or any Extracts from it will give the Doctor any pleasure it will answer the End of the Owner & if the Owner should not come to Town to call for it Doctor Percy will not be troubled for it by anybody else.

A.B. 8 Apr' 1780.

<sup>1</sup> *Beowulf*, 505-28; compare also 1836-9, the invitation to prince Hreþric to visit the court of the Geats.

<sup>2</sup> See Haupt in *Palestra*, cxxix (1914), 42-43.

<sup>3</sup> The problem is summarized by Dobbie, *op. cit.*, pp. xxiv-xxv; a conclusion similar to the one above has been reached, on different grounds, by Klæber, *Beiträge zur Geschichte d. deutschen Sprache u. Literatur*, lxxii (1950), 127.

<sup>4</sup> Perhaps by contamination with the legend of Sigurd, in which Gunther and Hagen behave in a similar way; so Heusler, *loc. cit.*, 'das Paar Gunther-Hagen wurde aus der Brünhild- oder Burgundensage genommen'. Brandl, *Archiv f. das Studium d. neueren Sprachen u. Literaturen*, cxx (1908), 4, points out further instances in which *Waldere* and *Þiðriks-saga* agree in opposing *Waltharius*.

Percy wrote later:

This Book was never called for. It seems curious and valuable. For tho' some of the Poems may be found among the Works of Waller, Corbet, &c. many of them I have never seen in print, & most of them have poetic merit, besides their curiosity as Court Poems of the Reigns of K. James I & K. Charles I. P.

The fourth of five hands concerned in the manuscript provided the most curious and valuable part,<sup>1</sup> judged from a literary point of view. He copied nearly 150 poems, among which are represented twenty-one known poets.<sup>2</sup> It is in fact possible now to find the majority of the poems in print, but that does not deprive the manuscript of interest. It is probably no longer expected that a collection of this kind should contain any considerable quantity of good but unknown poetry. The best works of most of the poets concerned were printed during their lifetimes, or soon after, and others have been gathered since by inheritors of Percy's literary curiosity. But the almost complete disappearance of autograph poetical manuscripts from the seventeenth century gives a special interest to any collection that has preserved readings or whole poems which were missed or rejected when the works came to be printed. Bishop Percy's manuscript has an unusually large share of such interest. It includes copies for whose variants the most natural explanation is that they represent a stage before the last correction; and with these, poems that were not printed in the seventeenth-century editions, but which have been ascribed by modern editors, and unprinted poems ascribed by the copyists.

Only a small part of this material is peculiar to Percy's manuscript, which is one of a group, all owing part of their content to selection from a single source. The original is probably no longer extant: at any rate, it has not been available to modern editors of the poets concerned. But that it did exist is proved by the relationship of this group of manuscripts. Textually, they show agreement in essentials, with minor discrepancies. In each are found the same sequences of apparently unrelated poems, and these, with other isolated poems, are disposed always in nearly the same order, though with various interpolations and omissions.

The other related manuscripts so far noticed are MSS. Harvard Eng. 626F, Huntington 172, which is incomplete, and the British Museum MSS. Harleian 6917-8. I have seen the Harvard manuscript only in microfilm,<sup>3</sup> and the Huntington manuscript not at all: it has been described by C. L.

<sup>1</sup> Fols. 47-125.

<sup>2</sup> Ayton, Bacon, Basse, Carew, Cleveland, Corbet, Donne, Earle, Feltham, John Fletcher, Lord Herbert of Cherbury, Herrick, Jonson, King, Massinger, Randolph, Shirley, Sir Simeon Steward, Strode, Waller, and Wotton.

<sup>3</sup> I am indebted for much kindness to the staff of the Shakespeare Institute, Stratford on Avon, who allowed me to use their microfilm.

Day, in 'New poems by Thomas Randolph', *R.E.S.*, viii (1932), 29-36, and by R. Dunlap, 'Some unpublished verses by Thomas Randolph', *M.L.N.*, lvi (1941), 264-71. C. L. Day discussed the Huntington and the Harvard manuscripts together: from his account, which is concerned directly only with Randolph, it appears that twenty-five poems at least are in both manuscripts, standing in very nearly the same order, and (in the case of the Randolph poems) sharing textual peculiarities. The Harvard manuscript contains 142 poems. Of these, Bishop Percy's manuscript has ninety-seven, including at least seventeen of the Huntington poems, roughly in the same order. The Harleian manuscripts contain a sparser selection of thirty-two poems, scattered through both volumes, and again they stand nearly in the same order.

It may be possible to find out more about the source of these copies. It is not clear whether differences between the derived manuscripts are to be attributed partly to real changes in the original, by correction and growth or by mutilation, or merely to the idiosyncrasy of the copyists. Nor can it be decided whether texts appearing only in one of the group really belong to the main collection: the Harleian manuscripts are richer in texts of Carew, the two American manuscripts in Randolph, and Percy's manuscript in Herrick: and though the extra poems appear in texts of a character much like those in the main collection, they may really have come from some independent source. But there is at least evidence of an original series of a little over a hundred poems, about half of which are the work of four poets: Herrick, Randolph, Carew, and Shirley. With these, there are one or two poems each by Jonson, Philip Massinger,<sup>1</sup> John Fletcher, Lord Herbert of Cherbury, and Owen Feltham, and a group of poems which, so far as I have seen, have not been ascribed either in the seventeenth century or since: the merits and weaknesses of these suggest either discarded attempts of a good poet, or the work of a gifted writer of imperfect achievement. There are also poems which Henry Lawes set to music, and other songs, and a mutilated fragment of Donne's 'Love's Diet', for which a tune may have been known to the compiler.

It is much to be regretted that Percy's manuscript did not reach the Bodleian in time for its unique contributions to the text of Herrick to be included by Professor L. C. Martin in his edition of 1956. The manuscript contains seven poems, and ten lines of an eighth, which were not printed in *Hesperides*, 1648: of these eight poems, two were not in the Harvard manuscript, which was the richest source of unprinted poems available for the edition; and the Harvard copyist failed to read two words in a third poem,

<sup>1</sup> See A. K. McIlwraith, 'The Virgins Character: A New Poem by Philip Massinger', *R.E.S.*, iv (1928), 64-68. The poem is here printed from the Harleian manuscript. It is also in Percy's manuscript and in the American manuscripts.



leaving blanks, where Percy's manuscript gives good readings. In other cases there are variants, not all due to the undeniable carelessness of the copyist. The most significant readings are given below, with references to Professor Martin's edition.

103.1. 'Musicke', six lines only printed in *Hesperides*. The two extra lines between ll. 2 and 3 are also in the song-books, Bodl. MS. Don. c. 57 and Christ Church MS. Mus. 87.

Musicke.

Musicke thou Soule of heaven care charminge Spell  
 who strikes a Stillnes into hell  
 Thou whose accents & conspiring Tones  
 give's life & Motion unto Stones  
 Thou that tamst Tygers, & feirce stormes doth raise  
 with thy Soule meltinge Lullabies  
 fall downe from those thy Cheyminge Sphears  
 & charme our Soules, as thou enchants our eares  
 If the Sweete Thracian could with his soft numbers  
 Lull the madd Furies into Slumbers  
 If that Arion could allure to Swimme  
 The Blew backd Dolphin after him  
 Or if Amphion Stones to kisse could bringe  
 with his delicious singinge  
 Thy circumfused rapture much more then  
 must move to love us softer moulded Men.

421.1. 'Of a proud Mrs.', three stanzas, the second and third hitherto known only in a song-book, Bodl. MS. Don. c. 57.

7. (*corrupt in Don.*) & when to hell our two leane shades must come.

8. grime for just.

9. some ruler *probably in error for* forme colour.

11. Noe wretched Soule there sitts: a iust Judge blinde.

Percy's MS. omits the last two lines.

443.2. Elegy.

15. *blank in Harvard, Landanū, in error for Laudanum.*

35. " " onely.

MARGARET CRUM

## A HOUSMAN 'REMINISCENCE'

I SHOULD like to add a postscript to the note (*R.E.S.*, N.S. x (1959), 183) in which I called attention to the resemblances between Housman's 'The Land of Biscay' and a poem ('The Sea Gipsy') by the American poet Richard Hovey which was printed in William Archer's anthology *Poets of the Younger Generation* (1902).

Since my note was published, Sir Maurice Bowra has called my attention to another source which was no doubt in Housman's mind when he wrote his poem. On pp. 130-1 of his *European Balladry* (Oxford, 1939) the late Professor Entwistle pointed out that the theme of Housman's poem—a mysterious boat whose helmsman sings an unearthly song—is a traditional one, which made its first appearance in the Spanish ballad 'Conde Arnaldos'. Entwistle added that the Spanish poem was translated by J. E. Flecker ('Lord Arnaldos', *Selected Poems* (1918), p. 25) and that a free rendering of it was incorporated by Longfellow in his lyric 'The Secret of the Sea'.

The conclusion reached in my note was that Housman must have read Hovey's poem before he wrote his own. That conclusion cannot, I think, be challenged: apart from the fact that Hovey's poem stands, in Archer's anthology, a few pages away from poems by Housman, 'The Land of Biscay' contains several features which occur in Hovey's poem but not in 'Conde Arnaldos', and Housman's and Hovey's poems end with lines that are almost identical. The theory of a common source—'Conde Arnaldos' or anything else—is therefore not enough to account for the resemblances between them.

On the other hand, Housman must have been familiar with the 'Conde Arnaldos' legend when he wrote his poem, for its main theme—the helmsman and his unearthly song—occurs in 'Conde Arnaldos' but not in 'The Sea Gipsy'. In what form did he know it?

'I do not know whether A. E. Housman had read the Spanish ballad or Longfellow's or Flecker's rendering', wrote Entwistle. Judging simply from Flecker's translation, I should not like to assert positively that Housman must have read either that rendering or the original itself, for the theme is all that his poem has in common with them, and if he was familiar with Longfellow's 'Secret of the Sea' there is no need to look farther than that poem for the source of his acquaintance with the legend. That he was indeed familiar with 'The Secret of the Sea' cannot, I think, be doubted, for his poem not only is built on the same theme as Longfellow's, but is written in the same metre and contains several similarities of phrasing. With Longfellow's

Sails of silk and ropes of sandal  
Such as gleam in ancient lore;  
And the singing of the sailors,  
And the answer from the shore!

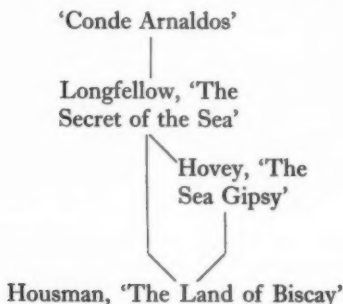
one may compare Housman's

Gold of mast and gold of cordage  
gold of sail to sight was she—

and

And the mariner of Ocean  
he was calling as he came.

If it were not demonstrable that Housman was familiar with 'The Sea Gipsy' one might have concluded that 'The Secret of the Sea' was alone a sufficient source for 'The Land of Biscay'. But in fact, as I have shown, Hovey's poem must be the immediate, or proximate, source of Housman's, and—since it is almost certain (on general grounds and by reason of actual similarity) that Hovey also was familiar with Longfellow's lyric—the relationship between the three poems must stand as follows:



This double ancestry makes 'The Land of Biscay' an even more interesting example than I had supposed of the complex process that went to the creation of Housman's poems.

JOHN SPARROW

## CORRESPONDENCE

THE EDITOR, *Review of English Studies*

Sir,

If I may be allowed a short reply to Mr. Schanzer's letter in *R.E.S.*, N.S. x (1959), 292-3, I should like to say that the essence of the matter seems to lie in one sentence of his remarks on Donne's line, 'Both the year's and the day's deep midnight is'. After stating, 'It is true that the first six syllables are not tripping anapaests', &c., he goes on: 'But it is the united impact of all the preceding lines

—their varied rhythm, tone, theme, verbal music, and every other factor that goes to make up the poem—which determines this and not any “fixed notional pattern of foot and stress”.

If our reading is unaffected by any awareness of a basic rhythm behind all the lines of the poem, of anything ‘given’ but the number of syllables in each line, does it not remain possible that at some point in a poem all the factors involved might impose just such a reading as Grierson’s? Might not this or some other ‘anapaestic’ or ‘dactylic’ rhythm occur not infrequently in a poem of the length and varied content of, say, *Paradise Lost*? Does this in fact happen, in Mr. Schanzer’s reading, or does he feel that at any time it may?

Is there any way in which the following lines, taken (not consecutively) from a poem by John Gray (No. 389 in the *London Book of English Verse*) fail to meet Mr. Schanzer’s account of the English decasyllable?

He leaps from the air with a silken swish . . .  
for the five strange fish are his enemies . . .  
he pants in crystal and mother-of-pearl  
while his body shrinks and his pinions furl.

How would his theory distinguish the metres of a poem in ‘English decasyllables’ and a (hypothetical) poem in decasyllables of a rhythm like Mr. Gray’s, above? If he allows a ‘fixed’ stress-pattern for the latter, while preserving for the former the freedom to admit this pattern among others, that is an entirely possible theory. But if Mr. Schanzer believes it to be true it should be easy for him to produce some lines from Milton or Spenser or Pope that he does read in this way.

If, on the other hand, we can feel sure when we approach Milton’s blank verse or Pope’s couplets or the Spenserian stanza that we shall not find such rhythms, something surely is omitted in Mr. Schanzer’s theory, at least as I, perhaps wrongly, understand it.

M. WHITELEY

*Mr. Schanzer writes:*

Of course Mrs. Whiteley is quite right in claiming that certain rhythmic patterns—like those of the lines she quotes—are so eccentric that we do not expect to find them in English decasyllabic verse. What is therefore ‘given’ as we approach an English poem is the expectation that such patterns will not be found in it. (Knowledge of a particular writer’s work may, however, teach us to abandon such an expectation, as, for instance, in the case of Miss Sitwell’s verse.) But the rhythmic patterns in English decasyllables which we regard as perfectly normal are still so many and various that we are by no means committed to Mrs. Whiteley’s notion of ‘a basic rhythm behind all the lines of the poem’. I would, therefore, stand by my claim that what prevents us from reading the first six syllables of ‘Both the year’s and the day’s deep midnight is’ as tripping anapaests is the united impact of all the preceding lines of the poem and not any ‘fixed notional pattern of foot and stress’, merely adding that the rejection of the anapaestic rhythm also accords with the prevailing practice of English poets and with the initial expectation with which we approached the poem.

## REVIEWS

**Old English Grammar.** By A. CAMPBELL. Pp. xvi+424. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1959. 42s. net.

During the last few years the Clarendon Press has deserved well of students of Old English, and this latest contribution to the study of the subject is to be warmly welcomed.

Mr. Campbell's book is planned on traditional lines in that it is concerned almost wholly with phonology and accidence. The exclusion of syntax is to be noted but not necessarily to be deplored, since a thorough treatment of the subject would have swollen the book beyond the limits of a single volume and would have delayed its appearance. There is a chapter on loan-words, which deals fully with Latin loan-words and briefly with those from Celtic, Scandinavian, and French. The paragraph (§ 544) on abnormal developments of Latin loan-words is so good as to make one wish that the author had found it possible to devote more space in the book as a whole to problems of word-formation.

It may be said at once that no book written in English covers the ground so thoroughly as Mr. Campbell's. In spite of its length it can be used with advantage by students with no previous knowledge of Old English. The printer has co-operated, and unobtrusive differences in the size of type serve to call attention to the parts of the book that can be skipped by elementary students. One may not always agree with the author's choice of type; it is, for example, not easy to see why the important paradigms of the first class of weak verbs are set in such small type (§ 748). The needs of more advanced students are met by very frequent footnote references to books and articles and by a select bibliography which fills eighteen pages. It is clear that Mr. Campbell is writing for students who are willing to take some trouble, since he describes this bibliography as 'intended not for mere reference, but as a list of works which every student should know and use'.

One of the chief problems which the author of a grammar of Old English must face is how far to assume a knowledge of the elements of Germanic philology. Unless the reader has some such knowledge, the earliest Old English changes can have little meaning. Mr. Campbell's solution of this problem is not entirely satisfactory. His exclusion of a treatment of Grimm's Law on the grounds that such changes lie outside the scope of a grammar of an individual language (§ 398) can be defended, but a reader without a fairly thorough knowledge of Germanic philology is likely to derive little benefit from those parts of the accidence which deal with the origin of forms. In the treatment of pronouns there is a brief paragraph to say that in that chapter no sections are included on origin of forms, as the pronominal paradigms could be adequately discussed only on a basis of the forms of all the Germanic languages. It may perhaps be thought that this comment would apply with some, if not with equal, force to the other chapters of the accidence, and it is hard to accept the claim made in the blurb

that the sections on the origin of the inflexions will serve as an introduction to comparative Germanic philology.

The phonology is arranged under the great sound-changes, even when such an arrangement involves a departure from strict chronology. The chapter on 'Prehistoric Old English Changes of Accented Vowels' includes a chronological summary and a dialectal summary. There would perhaps have been a gain if these two summaries had been removed from this chapter so that they might include some discussion of features of accident or later Old English sound-changes which have dialectal significance or whose relative chronology can be established. There is occasional discussion of chronology in other parts of the book, for example in § 284.

It is always ungracious to suggest ways in which a good book might have been even better, but there is room for improvement in the treatment of the phonetic aspect of the sound-changes described. The phonetic terminology, with its use of terms like 'open consonant', 'stop', and 'spirant', is rather old-fashioned, and, more important, there is not enough comment on the phonetic background of sound-changes. Thus in § 478 we are told that 'intrusion of consonants occurs in a few forms only', and seven categories of intrusion are listed with little or no comment. Some discussion of the phonetic background of these intrusions would have made it clear that the seven categories fall into two groups and that most of the examples are simply the result of the imperfect synchronization of the movements of the organs of speech. The reader is left with the impression that these intrusions are more arbitrary than they really are.

In a book of this kind there are naturally many points of detail on which other views than the author's are possible, but nothing would be gained by listing such points in a review, although one might perhaps risk a piece of textual criticism by suggesting that in § 654 'constant' should be emended to 'consonant'. The book is likely to become a standard work, and we have reason to be grateful that it has been published at a price which, by modern standards, must be regarded as cheap.

G. L. BROOK

**The Old English *Apollonius of Tyre*.** Edited by PETER GOOLDEN. Pp. xxxviii + 76 (Oxford English Monographs). Oxford: University Press, 1958. 25s. net.

This latest addition to the series of Oxford English Monographs will recall some pleasant memories to many of an older generation of English students who were brought up on Cook's *First Book in Old English*, where they first came upon the Old English version of the Apollonius story, 'the first book of romantic adventure in English literature', as Mr. Goolden calls it. Subsequently, they encountered another fragment of it in Wyatt's *Anglo-Saxon Reader*, but few ever read the whole extant text in the 1896 volume of Herrig's *Archiv*. It has taken over half a century to make a really satisfactory edition available in this country, although Professor Josef Raith has been active in various directions of

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recent years in studying and publishing all the known extant versions of the tale. He forestalled Mr. Goolden nearly three years ago when he published *Die alt- und mittellenglischen Apollonius-Bruchstücke* (Munich, 1956) with an elaborate critical and textual apparatus. As Mr. Goolden now explains, his own edition would have been ready almost at the same time as Raith's had it not been for a cruel mischance by which his manuscript was lost in a fire and had to be completely reconstituted. As he has of necessity to cover a good deal of the same ground as Raith, in the treatment of the Latin, and ultimately Greek, source, the distribution of the manuscripts of the Latin text—testifying to the immense popularity of the romance from the tenth to the fifteenth century, the special features of the Old English version preserved in a single manuscript and the linguistic peculiarities of this, Mr. Goolden can certainly claim that he has not plagiarized Raith's work; he is, rightly, more concerned with presenting the reader with a satisfactory edition of an Old English text, printing a conflated Latin text on the facing page, and concentrating on critical and textual notes that may help to elucidate a number of minor points of translation and interpretation. His Commentary on pp. 44–62 is particularly welcome, and contains some acute observations in the way of parallels and analogues. The volume ends with a Glossary, in which one would have welcomed line and page references to the round dozen of 'hapax legomena' found in the text. Some of them, admittedly, are discussed in the Commentary, but it would not have overweighted the Glossary unduly to quote: *æfestful* 22, 20; *cwicsūslen* 40, 8; *eastnorðerne* 16, 20; *læringmæden* 30, 27; *misþincan* 22, 21; *nefe* 40, 29; *ofstēnan* 40, 19; *ongēanwinnan* 2, 17; \**slecan* (reconstituted) 30, 21; *snelnes* 20, 12; *swēgcræft* 24, 29; 24, 31; 26, 3; *unforwandigendlice* 32, 15. In a few words the vowel-length is not indicated, e.g. *ād̄l*, *hǣden*, *sū̄dwesterne*; and the form *ðēnian* disfigures a column where every other word is printed with initial *p*-. But these are such minor blemishes in an otherwise admirable production that the editor may well refer his reader to the Old English translator's final injunction 'þæt he hele swa hwæt swa þar on sy to tale'.

O. K. SCHRAM

*Kyng Alisaunder*. Edited by G. V. SMITHERS. Vol. I, pp. xx+446; Vol. II, pp. viii+218 (Early English Text Society 227, 237). London: Oxford University Press for the Society, 1952, 1957. 35s., 37s. 6d. net respectively.

Until this edition the Middle English romance of *Kyng Alisaunder* had been available only in the edition by Weber published in 1810. That was based upon the imperfect MS. Lincoln's Inn 150; this one is based upon the much better Laud Misc. 622, with the Lincoln's Inn version on the opposite page, and at the foot of relevant pages the fragments from the National Library of Scotland and the British Museum (*The Bagford Ballads*).

Textually, therefore, this is a marked advance on Weber's edition; and such textual completeness has not only allowed its editor to clear up many obscurities found in Weber, but is perhaps no more than the due of what Cary (*The Medieval Alexander*, p. 37) called 'the best of the English Alexander-books'.



*Kyng Alisaunder* is basically founded upon the *Roman de Toute Cheualerie* of Thomas of Kent, but is not a slavish translation or following of the Anglo-Norman work, but a fairly free adaptation of it. Some subsidiary material depends on the *Alexandreis* of Walter of Châtillon, and there appear to be occasional reliances upon other Alexander-material.

Sources like these would postulate an author with a considerable knowledge of French; and that assumption is clearly supported in the poem by the large number of borrowings from one or other dialect of French, by the many calques on French phrasal idioms, and by the number of French phrases taken over bodily into the poem (though some of the latter, like *parde*, *saunz dotaunce*, and *saunz fable*, are little more than tags used to complete a line). Still, the total impression left upon one's mind is of an author who was virtually bilingual, to whom French came as easily as English. Of even greater importance is the unusually large number of words from Dutch, a feature which the editor links with a reference to *Martyne ape* (6454), found only in animal fables in Dutch, and the author's knowledge of Northern France, to suggest a personal contact with that area and with the Low Countries. And in an important study of the dialect, the editor shows that he was writing in the Essex dialect about 1300, and was probably also the author of *Arthour and Merlin* (see note to 4640).

Turning now to the manner of the poem, it is clear that it was designed for oral delivery by a minstrel (e.g. 29-30—'now, pes! listneþ, and leteþ cheste—þee shullen heren noble geste', and many more places). The editor rightly points out that this does not necessarily mean that such a long story (8,021 lines) must be crudely constructed and written: there is plenty of evidence to the contrary in *KA*, for example the author's conscious use of many rhetorical devices, his delicacy in handling themes like the Candace episode, and his little nature passages. What the editor does not discuss, however, is the regularity in occurrence of those nature passages, which seem at any rate to this reviewer to mark the beginnings of new instalments in the reading aloud of the story.

The Commentary is excellent, especially when the editor is dealing with 'background' material like the history of the Nimrod legend (7786-91), or single combats between leaders (7250-7), or the Dry Tree (6755), where he shows a wealth of learning. The points which follow are necessarily minor ones. For instance, the note on *feide* (96) is at first a little difficult to follow, since the word turns out to be not a reading in B or L, but a misreading of the latter by Weber. In *cast* (2100) the note and the Glossary do not exactly agree; and on *at eune heiz* (2255) the Glossary would appear to suggest a translation 'at equal speed', while the note rejects 'The alternative interpretation "at the same speed"'. The word *trouperie* (3417) has been silently amended by the editor to *crouperie*, but he seems to adopt a different attitude to *stoure* (3718). It may be worth mentioning that the note on *aristable* (287) denies that it is a corruption of *astrolabe*, while *M.E.D.* (under *astrelabie*) actually quotes this passage. And one would have liked a note on flat feet (2001) as one of the parts of knightly beauty.

The Glossary is difficult to assess. We are told, 'This glossary is designed to exhibit and elucidate the idiomatic singularities of Middle English and the individual elements in the author's vocabulary and expression. Commonplace words

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are therefore omitted or illustrated by only one or two examples'. No one can object to this in principle; but what constitutes the 'commonplace'? For example, *under-peewe* (1404), vb. 'to subject', is not in the Glossary; but this is the only instance quoted in Stratmann-Bradley; *batailloure* (1413), 'warrior', is not given, nor *besauntz* (1570, 2932, 3111), nor *venisounes* (1864), 'wild animals, esp. deer, killed by hunting' (O.E.D.). There is the difficulty of *c-k* words; thus *carke* (1410) figures under *karke*, *kytt* (2396) under *cutte*, *sklaunder* (1440) under *sclaunder*. *Bacyne* (2329) is in the Glossary, *bacynett* (2230) is not; *eye-shelle* (578) is there, but not *eye* (569, 595).

Now a few points on individual words. *Onde* (92), 'envy'; but 'malice' in 441; there does not seem to be any reason for the two meanings. *Sonde* (537), 'banquet'; there does not on the face of it seem to be any reason why this word should not be 'summons', which would link it with the other occurrences in the text. *Dure* (576), 'persist in remaining' is clumsy; would not 'hold out' (as in 3272) be better? *Taleþ* (1413), 'talk'; rather 'tell tales'? *Wrigeþ* (1992), 'invests'; substitute 'overruns'? *Aketoun* (2149) is hardly the same as 'jerkin'. *Toyle* (2213), 'strenuous fighting'; rather 'mêlée, turmoil' (cf. O.E.D., *Toil*). *Mounde* (2273), '? some part of a knight's armour', must surely remain a query; it might mean 'field of battle'. The interpretation of *layner* (3212) as 'thong' seems unlikely in a list of birds; is it not rather for *laner*, a kind of hawk? Then *spere*, in the previous line, could be an error for *speruer*, 'sparrow-hawk', which would make better sense. To *calte* (3648), 'taunt', one might add the reminder that this word survives in Scots and in north-east England with the meaning of 'revile' (cf. E.D.D., *Call* v.2). *Ford* (3810) is interpreted as 'what is more' in the Glossary, as 'moreover' in the note; one wonders if it were not really 'in front'; cf. *Macbeth*, v. viii: '*Siu*. Had he his hurts before? *Ross*. Ay, on the front.' What meaning is to be given to *lowe* (3851, 4341), which is not in the Glossary; do those two occurrences represent the same word? *Doppe* (5767), 'small waterfowl'; clearly a *diving* bird is meant; it is equated by O.E.D. (under *Doppe*) with 'dabchick'. *So* (5766), 'when'; is it not rather 'as soon as'?

The only textual error that has been noted is in 787, where B reads *doop in tourne*, and the *in* should be emended to *it* (L has *hit*).

A. MACDONALD

**The Allegorical Temper. Vision and Reality in Book II of Spenser's *Faerie Queene*.** By HARRY BERGER, JR. Pp. xii+248 (Yale Studies in English 137). New Haven: Yale University Press, 1957; London: Oxford University Press, 1958. 40s. net.

The House of Alma provided the basis both to the earliest large-scale imitation from an episode in *The Faerie Queene*, Fletcher's *Purple Island*, and to the first full-length commentary, that of Sir Kenelm Digby, upon Spenserian allegory. Subsequently the Legend of Temperance, compounded of inventions seemingly so disparate as the Palmer, Belpheobe, Mammon, the Chronicles of Britain and

Faery, and the Bower of Bliss, has been subjected to a corresponding variety of interpretations; to quote Mr. Berger: it has 'evoked something of a free-for-all among commentators', and 'sent critics headlong into battle'.

The book under review is divided into four parts, entitled 'The Problem of Interpretation', 'Problems in Intellectual History', 'Problems in Allegorical Method', and 'Allegory in Action'. The common concept directing the general argument is that of dual allegory symbolizing the struggle of Everyman against disorderly affections and the struggle of Guyon to fulfil his quest. The reversal at the opening of Canto VIII with the appearance of the angel and the recovery of Guyon from his swoon is interpreted as a point of transition marking a change of emphasis from Aristotelian to Christian temperance, *pietas* to *amor*, activity to passivity, the rule of Chance to that of Divine Providence. On this interpretation the Christian motif of the later cantos serves to integrate the symbolical meanings of Alma's Castle, 'The Anatomy of Christian Temperance', the Chronicles, 'Temperance in History and Myth', and the Bower of Bliss, 'Allegory in Action'. The 'conspicuous irrelevance' of Spenser's epic similes and digressive descriptions is justified as poetic strategy induced through the interplay of dramatic and didactic functions in allegory. 'Allegorical Method' poses other related topics—the poet as speaker for himself and for his characters, the coordination of history with philosophy, reality and vision within the world of allegory, the problem of poetic unity.

In tracing originals and analogues to Spenser's allegory Mr. Berger draws on a wide range and variety of authors, classical, medieval, and humanistic. Though most of his references and comments are interesting in themselves, providing plenty of food for thought, in places they are so protracted as to impede his argument and make heavy reading, which he makes still heavier through over-use of such words as 'reific', 'iconicity', 'dramatistic'. His discussions of verbal and stylistic details, likewise, for instance in the section on the Belpheobe-Braggadocchio episode, tend to be too prolonged and microscopic. But where more is meant than meets the ear it is better to find too much than too little, and Mr. Berger has found much that is worthy of attention. He deserves all praise for having treated Spenser not simply as an artist in word-painting and word-music but as a serious thinker and philosophical poet, the role most admired by Spenser's contemporaries and early successors. With the qualifications already noted his line of approach would appear to be one which might well be directed to other parts of *The Faerie Queene*, and his book must be recognized both as a substantial work of scholarship and as a timely revaluation of Spenser the poet.

B. E. C. DAVIS

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**Shakespeare's Theatre and the Dramatic Tradition.** By LOUIS B. WRIGHT. Pp. iv+36. 18 plates; **The Life of William Shakespeare.** By GILES E. DAWSON. Pp. ii+34. 14 plates; **The Bible in English 1525-1611.** By CRAIG R. THOMPSON. Pp. ii+38. 17 plates; **The English Church in the Sixteenth Century.** By CRAIG R. THOMPSON. Pp. ii+58. 19 plates; **English Dress in the Age of Shakespeare.** By VIRGINIA A. LAMAR. Pp. ii+42. 22 plates; **Music in Elizabethan England.** By DOROTHY E. MASON. Pp. ii+38. 20 plates. (Folger Booklets on Tudor and Stuart Civilization.) Washington, D.C.: The Folger Shakespeare Library, 1958. \$0.75 each.

The Folger Booklets are designed to illustrate and describe the cultural history of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and to fulfil the duty of the Folger Library and its Director and Governing Body towards the general reader as well as to the advanced researcher for whose needs the facilities of the Library are principally adapted. So much we learn from the general introduction prefaced by Dr. Louis B. Wright to each of the present booklets, which open a series intended to be continuous. He envisages the use of the ample supply of illustrations provided in each booklet for the purpose of teaching in schools with the help of television or of other visual methods, for which purposes the resources of the Library are available. The proportion of illustrative matter to history and description is therefore exceptionally high.

The scholarly authority of the series appears to be ensured by the responsibility of such writers as Dr. Wright, Dr. Dawson, and Dr. Thompson for their respective contributions. But it might seem that much would be gained by the control of a General Editor of the whole series, to ensure a common policy in details of form and production. It would be desirable to have the series numbered, for example, in order of production, for ready reference. So also, in Dr. Craig Thompson's two booklets, the plates are not numbered. The sources of the plates are not given for the most part, and we do not always know which are derived from books and manuscripts in the Folger collection. Dr. Thompson, it is true, informs us that all plates in *The English Church* are from the Folger Library, whereas in *The Bible in English* some are from Yale, Pennsylvania University Library, and Pierpont Morgan. No price is stated, except in an introductory circular.

One could almost have wished that this series of booklets might have rested exclusively upon the resources of the Folger Library itself, and so have illustrated its wealth, and had its own character. There is a notable multiplication in recent years of illustrated books concerning Elizabethan England and drawing upon all available resources. They tend to resemble one another, consequently. It would have been pleasant to have, for example, in Dr. Dawson's *Life of William Shakespeare* a reproduction of the signature inscribed in the *Archaionomia* in the Folger Library, not readily available for general inspection.

It is, of course, difficult to cope with such great subjects in texts ranging from fifteen to twenty pages. Dr. Wright's illustrations of the London theatres and stages obviously require much more discussion than his space allows him. I doubt very much whether the elaborate costliness of Elizabethan dress has not

been greatly exaggerated by Miss LaMar as in most accounts, in respect of average daily wear as contrasted with Court occasions. Lady Anne Newdegate in 1607 paid only 1s. 6d. apiece for gloves for her own use, and 2s. 8d. for shoes. John Grenville, a knight's son, going up to Lincoln's Inn in 1619, had two suits only, of ordinary cloth, and one felt hat. The only finery was one pair of silk stockings. The whole subject needs to be re-examined.

There is a certain danger, in all such compendious treatments, of concentration upon London and the Court, at the expense of wider fields of England. The stage and drama, and music, in particular, were of more universal appeal. They were practised even on the voyages of the English seamen. Drake had apparently a pretty full ship's orchestra in the *Defiance*, I find, including strings, wood, and wind instruments. The provinces may well come into their own in later booklets, perhaps in economic life, for example. It is in new perspectives that the influence of a great research institution might be reflected in its publications even for the general reader. Miss Mason's *Music in Elizabethan England* presents this wider outlook. I wonder in what sense she calls a cittern 'a country cousin of the lute' (p. 7). The Earl of Cumberland bought one for his own use in 1590 for 40s. Certainly a pandora or orpharion cost twice as much then. We shall look forward to the production of further booklets in this series.

C. J. SISSON

**Shakespeare and the Allegory of Evil. The History of a Metaphor in Relation to his Major Villains.** By BERNARD SPIVACK. Pp. xii+508. New York: Columbia University Press; London: Oxford University Press, 1958. 45s. net.

**Dramatic Providence in *Macbeth*. A Study in Shakespeare's Tragic Theme of Humanity and Grace.** By G. R. ELLIOTT. Pp. xvi+234. Princeton: University Press; London: Oxford University Press, 1958. 40s. net.

Mr. Spivack's book is an inquiry into the role of Iago. It is concerned primarily with the survival in the part of primitive characteristics derived from the psychomachia and the morality play, and his thesis is simply that although Shakespeare provided Iago with more sophisticated characteristics he is partly the Vice, the cunning allegorical figure who, because of his nature, hates Othello and Desdemona because they are good. In the lines

I hate the Moor;  
And it is thought abroad that 'twixt my sheets  
He has done my office

Mr. Spivack suggests that the tell-tale *And* exhibits 'the seam between the drama of allegory and the drama of nature'. The thesis is buttressed with ten learned chapters on morality plays and their influence, with a useful bibliography of the extant plays.

Only occasionally does Mr. Spivack strain the evidence, as when he calls the melancholy Don John 'gay', and his main argument is convincing enough. It may be suggested, however, that Iago in the theatre does not arouse the difficulties discovered in his character by the critics. When a character compares himself to a Vice, he does so precisely because he is not a Vice; and the natural antipathy between good and evil, though it may have allegorical roots, was not to Shakespeare, and need not be to us, incompatible with psychological realism. Browning's 'Soliloquy in a Spanish Cloister', grotesque as it is, is a poem which illustrates a universal phenomenon.

If Mr. Spivack tends to distort Shakespeare to fit him into the pattern of scholarship, Professor G. R. Elliott tries to fit *Macbeth* into a theological scheme. As we know from his previous books on *Hamlet* and *Othello*, Mr. Elliott believes that all Shakespeare's tragic heroes fall through pride. This belief, in spite of his close attention to the text, which he follows scene by scene and almost line by line, in spite of his intelligence, and in spite, too, of many valuable insights, leads to critical distortion. We get the feeling that Mr. Elliott is reading between the lines all the time and that he substitutes for the tragedy he is dealing with an eloquent and impressive tragedy of his own.

This impression is more than confirmed by his book on *Macbeth*. It contains a running commentary on the play which shows that Mr. Elliott has brought a fresh mind to bear on every line of the text. Future editors will have to take note of his interpretation of individual passages, even though they will often be constrained to reject them. Mr. Elliott believes that Shakespeare makes use of the idea of the fall through pride, of 'the supernatural origin of goodness, especially of the basic virtue, humility', and of 'the possibility that even the most wicked person may at any time be converted if he allows his pride to be overcome by divine Grace'. This last point—that Macbeth's self-centred remorse may change to Christian repentance—appears to be Mr. Elliott's main thesis. Theologically, no doubt, it is unexceptionable; but to show that Macbeth still has the chance of reformation after the murder of Duncan Mr. Elliott sometimes puts a forced interpretation on individual passages. One is inclined to doubt whether in his soliloquy in 1. vii Macbeth is 'proclaiming to his soul his own humaneness'—this is part of Mr. Elliott's attack on humanism; whether Macbeth killed the grooms because of the 'agony of his soul when he viewed Duncan's corpse'; whether his praise of Banquo in the Banquet scene is sincere; or whether he is prevented from confession in that scene by his pride. Sometimes Mr. Elliott is too positive, as when he describes the murderers as 'incompetent officials' who had been sacked at Banquo's instigation, or when he denies that Lady Macbeth committed suicide.

It should be added that Mr. Elliott keeps as close as possible to the text of the Folio, and this sometimes leads him into reading improbable subtleties into the original division of the lines.

KENNETH MUIR



**Three Studies in the Renaissance: Sidney, Jonson, Milton.** English Petrarche: A Study of Sidney's *Astrophel and Stella* by Richard B. Young; Ben Jonson's Masques by W. Todd Furniss; The Idea of Nature in Milton's Poetry by William G. Madsen. Pp. viii+284. New Haven: Yale University Press; London: Oxford University Press, 1958. 48s. net.

These three studies derive from dissertations submitted for the Ph.D. at Yale and retain many traces of their origin: very extensive quotation, extreme deference to academic authorities, and a method which is exploratory rather than critical. Such things, it is well known, do not make for easy reading. They have nothing else in common and must be considered separately.

In the first study, of *Astrophel and Stella*, Mr. Young considers that the organization of the sequence is what especially distinguishes it. For Sidney, *pace* Professor Lewis, the sonnet sequence was a method of telling a story. In Mr. Young's opinion 'Sidney has exploited . . . the poetic relation of manner and matter as the chief means of presenting the dramatic problem, the relation of lady and lover', and this is the subject of his study. He sees the poet-lover as conscious of two audiences (following a suggestion of Hallett Smith's) but he seems not to go far enough. For surely there are four characters, not three, engaged in *Astrophel and Stella*: two of them characters of fiction, and two (Philip Sidney and Penelope Devereux) characters of history. Astrophel is presented as none of your 'fellows of infinite tongue, that can rhyme themselves into ladies' favours'; yet he is the creation of a sophisticated and learned poet. The Stella whom this Astrophel woos is very different from the cultivated lady whose wits the poet must try to entertain, who sings his songs, and recites his verses. Mr. Young approaches this understanding of *Astrophel and Stella* only to shy away again: he sees that in sonnet 54 Astrophel is 'too normal . . . to be a proper lover' in the Petrarchan tradition, but fails to see that in sonnet 74 Astrophel (not Sidney) is speaking in character. Again, he quotes the last stanza of the eighth song, which he rightly regards as 'the most important in the sequence, for the whole structure turns upon it', but then fails to notice the contrasted pronouns. Stella left *him* (Astrophel) to passion rent that therewith *my* (Sidney's) song was broken. This is but one of the many clues, beginning with the first sonnet, to a correct reading of *Astrophel and Stella* which are almost invariably unnoticed. Mr. Young comes so near to an understanding of Sidney's sequence that it is strange he misses such things.

Two other points may be made. Mr. Young uses the word 'conventional' *ad nauseam* (e.g. it occurs 23 times on pp. 41-50); such damnable iteration is meaningless. And Lownes's undated quarto of *Astrophel and Stella* cannot be as early as 1591, as (I trust) I have shown in an article now in the press.

Mr. Furniss's study of Jonson's Masques is the most interesting of the three. He takes A. H. Gilbert's point of the masque's advantage over tragedy: 'If ever poet could expect to touch the center of influence, here was his opportunity', and by a careful study of plots and imagery in these masques shows how Jonson seized it. He follows E. W. Talbert in considering that Jonson was not so much concerned with flattery as with panegyric *laudando praecipere*. The ritual element



in the masque had obvious advantages here, for if the King is transformed into a god his devotees, while praising him and giving him thanks, are entitled to remind him of his duties towards them. Similarly, the antimasque, involving a second set of standards which might be seriously held, enabled the poet to state openly criticisms of the King which were current 'in *Pauls* . . . and in all the tavernes', if only (of course) to rebut them. Thus in *Time Vindicated* Jonson presented *Cronomastix* not merely to score off George Wither, but to take his stand in the current controversy over freedom of speech, which had been provoked by the King's Proclamation 'against excesse of lavishe speech of Matters of State' of 24 December 1620. Under this proclamation Wither had been imprisoned, and James had threatened to prosecute members of the House of Commons. (There is an echo of this in Drayton's 'Elegie to George Sandys', where he deploras his inability to speak out even to a friend.) Thus Mr. Furniss persuades us (if we need persuasion) to think of Jonson's Masques as much more than 'bubbles and butterflies and rainbows'—as, indeed, a species of unacknowledged legislation.

The last of the three studies, in spite of Mr. Madsen's insistence that Milton 'is a poet, not a philosopher', is a contribution, perhaps, to the history of ideas rather than to the criticism of poetry. It is therefore surprising that no reference is made to the work of Collingwood or Whitehead: had Mr. Madsen used their books his own account might have attained greater clarity. Some reference is made to Spenser, though oddly enough none to the *Mutability* cantos; to Calvin, but none to his permissive equation of God and Nature.

Even if it is too much to hope that Dionysus will not be confounded with Dionysius, could not a writer on Milton's *Mask* have observed from the title-page that it was 'presented at Ludlow Castle', not at some mythical 'Bridge-water Castle'? As in the first of these three studies there are a number of misquotations and misprints too numerous (and too unimportant) to be listed here.

JOHN BUXTON

**Introduction and Notes to Milton's *History of Britain*.** By CONSTANCE NICHOLAS. Pp. iv+180 (Illinois Studies in Language and Literature 44). Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1957. \$4.00.

In 1908, in a lecture to the British Academy, C. H. Firth spoke of Milton's *History of Britain* as 'a work of learning and originality, worthy to be remembered in any account of historical writing in England'. In this book Miss Nicholas has done much to substantiate Firth's claims by providing a detailed commentary, designed to be read with Volume X of the Columbia Edition of *The Works of Milton*. Following the clues in the text and those provided by Milton's *Commonplace Book*, she not only establishes which 'obscure and blockish chronicles' Milton used for his authorities, but also on occasion succeeds in correcting previous opinions as to particular editions used by the poet, and is at pains to set out and contrast their testimony to enable the reader to understand why he spoke of the *History* as 'this travail, sifted from fables and impertinences'.

The author's best work lies in this presentation of the 'unskilful handling of monks and mechanics' who wrote of English history from its legendary beginnings down to the Norman Conquest, where Milton's *History* ends, but the reader is often left unsatisfied both as to what really happened, if it be known, or as to the present-day opinions of experts. Thus (pp. 56-59) there is a good note on Severus's wall-building which states fully the evidence of the Latin and English authorities, but stops short of the vital work of J. Collingwood Bruce on Hadrian's Wall, and that of Sir George Macdonald on the Antonine Wall. As for the legendary history, it is difficult to understand why the editor apparently has not used either her own compatriot's *Legendary History of Britain* (1950), especially for forms and identification of persons and place-names, or Sir Thomas Kendrick's *British Antiquity* (1950) or George Gordon's paper on *The Trojans in Britain* (1923), or Edmond Faral's work on Geoffrey of Monmouth. Whereas there is only one reference to the first volume of the Oxford History of England (1936), there is none at all to the second (1943). In using Oman's *England before the Norman Conquest* instead of Stenton's *Anglo-Saxon England* the author has handicapped herself, as, for example (p. 88), where she misses the significance of the annal (571) on the battle of *Bedcanford* as evidence for the recovery of territory lost after *Mons Badonicus*, and gives no hint that all scholars are not agreed about the identification with Bedford. In fact in the identification of place-names the author relies too much on the conjectures of antiquarians, and has made no use of the volumes of the English Place-Name Society.

Further, Miss Nicholas does not always inspire confidence when she translates Old English. Thus (p. 126) it should have been stated that *gesette* means 'occupied', and *cirlisce men* (p. 127) not simply explained as 'Englishmen'. Whelock's difficult form *hleaofera* (p. 140) (for *hleao eafora*) is not elucidated, although the translation given is correct; *ne wearp wæl mare* (p. 139) does not mean 'there has been no more slaughter', and the term *borhfæste* (p. 168) surely needs comment. Incidentally 899, not 900, is generally accepted as the date of Alfred's death; Chester was not one of the Seven Boroughs; and the note on Mul's wergild should not leave the impression that it was paid in pounds.

A competent introduction discusses previous editions of the *History*, but neither here, nor in the Columbia edition, is there a critical essay such as Firth's was, which could have built on the results of Miss Nicholas's extensive and careful research.

G. N. GARMONSWAY

**Thomas Traherne: Centuries, Poems, and Thanksgivings.** Edited by H. M. MARGOLIOUTH. Vol. I, pp. xlii+298; Vol. II, pp. x+426. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1958. 84s. net.

This edition of Traherne's poems and of what, to distinguish it from *Roman Forgeries* and *Christian Ethicks*, may be called his poetical prose is, as might be expected from the editor of Marvell and most percipient expositor of Blake,

Wordsworth, and Coleridge, equal to the best volumes in this series, and will surely remain definitive. It is sad to think that we shall receive nothing more from this great scholar, and that, when he was taken from us, he was still in the fullness of his powers. About the excellence of the introduction, a model of clarity and compression, the scholarly succinctness of the notes, and the original and obviously right presentation of the manuscript poems there can be no dispute; and in the only two matters where I seriously disagree with the editor—his printing of textual and explanatory notes, without discrimination, at the end of each volume, and, in his presentation of the *Centuries*, his failure, as it seems to me, to distinguish sufficiently between a facsimile and an edition—I am aware that he is conforming to what now seems to be a general practice.

The first half of the introduction contains an admirably full and clear account of the manuscript and printed sources and of the way in which the editor has dealt with them. It may perhaps be suggested that many of the meditations in the apparently incomplete manuscript which Dobell called 'The Book of Private Devotions' and which Mr. Margoliouth, who gives good reasons (p. xix) for supposing it to have been written in 1673, calls, more appropriately, 'The Church's Year-Book', have as good a claim to be regarded as prose poetry, or poetical prose, as have the *Thanksgivings* (i.e. *A Serious and Pathetical Contemplation*, &c., 1699), which are given complete. Perhaps some of the more striking passages, such as the concluding Meditations and Devotions 'Upon All Saints Day', might have been given in an appendix, for they suggest that Traherne, like Donne, while opposing the Roman claims could wholeheartedly sympathize with Roman devotion. In the second portion of his introduction, beginning with a section entitled 'Materials for Traherne's Biography', Mr. Margoliouth has assembled and presented with his own incomparable succinctness all that we positively know as distinct from what we may care to conjecture. He has noticed, I think for the first time, that Traherne cannot have become chaplain to Sir Orlando Bridgeman before 1669 (p. xxxv), and that we have no evidence at all that he resided as Rector of Credenhill before the Restoration (p. xxxvi). Only on the last three pages has Mr. Margoliouth permitted himself to indulge in literary criticism, and on his last page (xli) he adduces among the proofs of Traherne's conscious and deliberate artistry the fact that he never repeats a stanza form in a second poem. A similar exuberance in the invention of never, or seldom, repeated stanza forms was displayed by Donne in the *Songs and Sonets* and by George Herbert in *The Temple*, but the value of this particular achievement has never been sufficiently investigated, and has too readily been accepted as, in itself, a proof of poetic genius. Marvell, a far better poet than Traherne, and, at his best, at least as good as Donne and Herbert at their best, reveals almost nothing of their metrical exuberance.

Except for twelve poems in the *Centuries* (the four-line dedication, two short fragments, one of them a translation, in the Second Century, and nine poems, two of which also appear in both D and F, in the Third Century), which it is to be regretted that Mr. Margoliouth did not extract and reprint, as a separate section, with the other poems in volume II; except for a few scattered poems in two other Traherne manuscripts and in two printed books; and except for three

rhymed poems in the *Thanksgivings*, which are reprinted in full in this edition, all of Traherne's poems are contained in two manuscript selections, one of them, the Dobell Manuscript (here referred to as D), made by Traherne himself, and the other made after the poet's death by his brother Philip, presumably with a view to publication, and entitled by him 'Poems of Felicity' (here referred to as F). F contains sixty poems, of which twenty-two are also in D (being the first twenty-two poems in that manuscript), and D contains fourteen poems which are not in F. In the twenty-two poems in F which are also to be found in D, and in the poem *News*, which is also to be found in *Century* III. 26, Philip has made extensive and often disastrous alterations, and we can only guess what he may have done to the thirty-seven poems in his selection for which we have no other source. Mr. Margoliouth, noticing that there are many places where Philip has changed the text of these thirty-seven poems from that which he first wrote down, remarks that 'there is a strong presumption that what he first wrote down is generally a transcription of Thomas' (p. xvi); but this, surely, is to forget those twenty-three poems where comparison is possible and where what Philip first wrote down is very far from being a transcription of Thomas. These things being so, Mr. Margoliouth did well to adopt the excellent procedure of adding, both in the Table of Contents and in the text, a single asterisk to the titles of all F poems which are also to be found in D (or, in the single case of *News*, in the *Centuries*) and a double asterisk to the titles of all poems to be found only in F, and then of printing, first, and on opposite pages, the twenty-two poems where comparison is possible, then the poems found only in F, and lastly the poems found only in D. (It is regrettable that, for the sake of saving less than two pages, the *Centuries* text of *News* has not been reprinted side by side with that of F.) He has also very rightly departed from the procedures of Dobell and Miss Wade and has restored Traherne's original reading wherever Philip has made alterations in D itself.

Comparatively few of Traherne's poems are good enough to deserve a place even in a fairly comprehensive anthology of seventeenth-century poetry, and where the same thought or experience is expressed or described both in the poems and in the *Centuries*, its expression or description in the poems is nearly always far less striking and far more diffuse. Indeed, a careful comparison of the poems found both in D and F makes it only too easy to see how much Traherne's often clumsy and 'did'-clogged verses were in need of improvement, true though it be that poor, blundering Philip was not the man to do it; for, although he does occasionally effect some small improvement, he far more frequently spoils. Here, as throughout the two volumes of this in many ways admirable edition, my strong sense of gratitude to Mr. Margoliouth has been mingled with an ever-increasing irritation, which should perhaps be directed against his publishers, that both the textual and literary notes have been printed together at the end of each volume, instead of, where they should be, at the foot of the text. Who, except the most conscientious of reviewers, with one of these heavy volumes on his knee, will be prepared to keep his thumb perpetually in the notes, and to refer to every note, textual or literary, on every line? And yet, if he does not, he will be only too likely to fall into some trap. One example out of many must suffice. In D lines

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43-51 of *My Spirit*, which, if not, perhaps, one of Traherne's best poems, is certainly, as Mr. Margoliouth says, his most comprehensive, are as follows:

With all she wrought  
My Soul was fraught,  
And evry Object in my Soul a Thought  
Begot, or was; I could not tell,  
Whether the Things did there  
Themselves appear,  
Which in my Spirit *truly* seemd to dwell;  
Or whether my conforming Mind  
Were not alone even all that shind.

Thomas later altered the last line to 'Were not even all that therein shind', which seems to me an improvement, although Mr. Margoliouth thinks otherwise and has quite justifiably printed the original version in his text. Philip, however, has adopted Thomas's revision, and a reader who happened to share my opinion, but who did not perpetually keep his finger in the notes, might well be led to suppose that here at any rate Philip had succeeded in improving upon Thomas. The same thing happens at lines 56 and 79. In fact, the only safe course for a reader who wished to make a really thorough study both of Thomas's revisions of his own work and of Philip's revisions of Thomas would be to borrow a second copy of this volume and to transcribe all the textual notes into the margins of his own copy. He ought even, perhaps, to transcribe all the notes, since in most of them the textual and the commentarial are closely united. Indeed, since Mr. Margoliouth is never diffuse or expansive, I can see no reason whatever why all his notes should not have been printed below the text, as in the excellent Twickenham edition of Pope.

Many of his notes are so illuminating that it is a great pity they do not occupy a more conspicuous place, from which they might communicate all manner of exciting suggestions for further investigation to young students already stimulated by their first acquaintance with Traherne.

Where are the Silent Streams,  
The Living Waters, and the Glorious Beams,  
The Sweet Reviving Bowers,  
The Shady Groves, the Sweet and Curious Flowers,  
The Springs and Trees, the Heavenly Days,  
The Flowry Meads, the Glorious Rayes,  
The Gold and Silver Towers?  
Alas, all these are poor and Empty Things,  
Trees, Waters Days and Shining Beams  
Fruits, Flowers, Bowers, Shady Groves and Springs,  
No Joy will yeeld, no more then Silent Streams.  
These are but Dead Material Toys,  
And cannot make my Heavenly Joys.

On this third stanza of *Desire* (ll. 27-39) Mr. Margoliouth remarks: 'Unlike Wordsworth, Traherne seems reconciled to losing the "gleam", but no reader of the *Centuries* will believe that he did lose it.' Traherne insists far more than

does the Wordsworth of the 'great decade' on the superiority of the mind to that which it contemplates; but, although he is nearer to the Coleridge of *Dejection*, he perhaps never goes quite so far as does Blake (with whom Mr. Margoliouth often, and rightly, compares him) in expressing contempt for what Blake called 'this Vegetable Universe' and for those 'natural objects' which Blake declared 'always did, and now do, weaken, deaden and obliterate Imagination in me'. The attempt to plot some of the relationships between these four poets and seers is endlessly fascinating, and each of them enables us to see the others more clearly 'as in themselves they really are'.

In his notes on the six poems from *Hexameron*, or *Meditations on the Six Days of Creation* (1717), which, with a little hesitation, he agrees with Miss Wade in ascribing to Traherne, although he thinks it must be an early work, Mr. Margoliouth has pointed out several imitations of, and borrowings from, various passages in Sylvester's translation of Du Bartas. Nothing seems more likely than that it should have been from Sylvester that Traherne learnt to write poetry, for much even of his later poetry reads rather like diluted Sylvester. In lines 16-19 of the *Fifth Day* (p. 197) there are affinities both with Sylvester and with Spenser:

Here skipping Fishes cut the lambent Air,  
There living Castles mighty things declare;  
And swiftly rolling through the spacious Main,  
This Day proclaim, with all their finny Train.

So far as I can remember, the word 'finny' does not occur in Sylvester, the usual epithet in his various periphrastic descriptions of fish being 'scaly': 'finny' comes from Spenser (*F.Q.*, iv. viii. 29, of Proteus), 'Along the foamy waves driving his finny drove', from whom it also came to Milton (*Comus*, 115).

Mr. Margoliouth has printed for the first time twelve poems from what he calls 'Philip Traherne's Notebook', a kind of commonplace book kept during their early days partly by Philip and partly by Thomas. Only two of these poems are subscribed with Thomas's monogram, or initials, and, since the section of the book where they occur also includes a transcript of Strode's 'I saw fair Chloris', it is impossible to feel certain that they are all by Traherne. Most of them are not very good. One of the best, and it is one of the two subscribed with Traherne's initials, is the poem of four 8-line stanzas beginning 'Rise noble soule and come away' (p. 206). It is crossed out for deletion, and Mr. Margoliouth thinks this is because, as its last stanza suggests to him, it is a 'physical love poem'. It may well have seemed so to over-hasty Philip when, after his brother's death, he was considering possible material for his selection, but to me it seems rather an approach to what might be called the religious pastoral, a genre represented by Marvell's two pastoral dialogues, *Clorinda and Damon* and *Thyrsis and Dorinda*. The third stanza, describing the hill which in the two preceding stanzas the soul has been invited to ascend with its lover, makes it clear, I think, that the poem is to be taken religiously, and the eroticism (if that is the right word for it) in the last stanza is far less surprising to a modern reader than many similar passages in, for example, Crashaw's poems. It reveals, as do the last pages of 'The Church's



Year-Book', to which I have already referred, a sympathy with certain aspects of what we are too much inclined to regard as specifically Counter-Reformation Catholicism, although Crashaw shared it while he was still 'among the Protestants'. The poem entitled 'a Serious and a Curious night-Meditation' (p. 209) seems to me very unlike Traherne, and as though it had been written by a man who had recently been reading Donne's *Anniversaries* and perhaps some of his sermons:

What is my Fathers House! And what am I!  
 My fathers House is Earth; where I must lie:  
 And I a worme, noe man; that fits noe roome,  
 Till like a worme, I crawl into my Tomb.  
 The wombe was first my Grave; whence since I Rose,  
 My body Grave-like doth my Soule Inclose:  
 This body like a Corp's with sheets o're spread,  
 Dying each Night, lies buried in a Bed.

(ll. 7-14)

It is true that the author of these verses (whoever he was) does not proceed, like Donne, to 'go lower' than the Psalmist and to declare that he is a man and no worm, but it is hard not to suppose that Donne was the chief source of his inspiration. Be that as it may, his poem is one of the best things of its slightly grotesque kind in seventeenth-century poetry.

Apart from the separation of text and notes, for which he should not, perhaps, be regarded as wholly responsible, the only part of his performance in which this most judicious of editors seems to reveal some want of judgement is in his text of the *Centuries*, where he has tried to reproduce as exactly as possible all Traherne's apparent idiosyncracies and inconsistencies in capitalization, absence of capitals, and punctuation. I italicize the word 'apparent', because, as Mr. Margoliouth himself admits, in his introductory note on 'Transcription of the Text' (p. 233), there are no less than twelve letters where only differences, often very small differences, in size can enable us to decide (and our decision can seldom be more than a guess) whether they are capitals or not. To these twelve letters I myself would add F, although Mr. Margoliouth regards it as one of those letters about which there is never any doubt. The only distinction between Traherne's F's is that he sometimes gives the top of the letter a slight horizontal prolongation, sometimes in a straight line, sometimes with a dip, to the right. Such a prolonged F is undoubtedly intended as a capital, but we cannot assume, as Mr. Margoliouth apparently does, that no F's without this prolongation are intended as capitals. After a full stop Traherne often begins a new sentence with such an unprolonged F, and it is inconceivable either that, had he been writing for publication, he could have intended his printers to begin such a sentence with a lower-case F, or that any printer would have done so. He never, I think, follows the practice of many of his contemporaries in writing two small F's to represent a capital, but, like so many of them, he reveals great inconsistencies in his writing both of this and of other letters, and would no doubt, like most of them, have been content to leave his intentions to be interpreted, to the best of their abilities, by his printers. It would have been as impossible for a printer to produce an



exact transcript of his manuscript as it is for a modern editor to do so: a contemporary printer, like a modern editor, would have had to interpret and, to some extent, to edit. For a modern reader who wishes to do all the interpreting for himself nothing less than a photographic facsimile of the manuscript will suffice. Mr. Margoliouth has, I think, failed to distinguish sufficiently between those manuscripts of which it is possible, and those of which it is not possible, to produce in type what may not improperly be called a transcript<sup>1</sup> and to perceive that, where it is not possible to produce a transcript, an editor should allow himself greater liberty than he has himself been willing to take.

Traherne's inconsistencies in the writing of F may be regarded as a kind of test-case on the basis of which a decision about the correct typographical representation of his intentions in the writing of other letters should be based. Here are a few examples among many of places where, because Traherne has written an unprolonged F, Mr. Margoliouth, with very odd effect, has begun a new sentence after a full stop with a lower-case F: I. 14, l. 13, II. 90, l. 14, II. 90, l. 16, III. 5, l. 8, III. 68, l. 16, IV. 5, l. 16, IV. 9, l. 17, IV. 19, l. 4, IV. 74, l. 16, IV. 78, l. 6, IV. 37, l. 4. In all except the last of these examples, where it is 'from', the initial word is 'for', and in some of them, as elsewhere in the manuscript, I am not sure whether what looks like a full stop is not really intended to represent a colon. It would indeed be possible to collect from the manuscript a series of what might be called progressively diminishing colons: a series, that is to say, beginning with examples of two perfectly distinct dots, one vertically above the other, proceeding to examples with upper dots of increasing faintness, often at an angle of about forty-five degrees to the right of the lower ones, and concluding with examples where, although no upper dot is visible, a colon rather than a full stop was almost certainly intended, and where Traherne, writing rapidly, may even have made, or attempted to make, an upper dot, but touched the paper so lightly that the mark is no longer visible. At I. 33, l. 7, where Mr. Margoliouth has correctly printed a colon after 'Riches', it is only just possible to discern the upper dot in the manuscript, while at IV. 5, l. 10, where he has incorrectly printed a full stop after 'Word', it is still possible to discern a faint upper dot at an angle of about forty-five degrees to the right of the lower one. There are also places where what looks like a full stop was almost certainly intended as a comma, although Traherne touched the paper so lightly that the downstroke, if he made it at all, is no longer visible: e.g. IV. 74, l. 29, after 'Interpres'. In all such doubtful cases the benefit of the doubt should be given to probability and general practice. But to return from this necessary digression to Traherne's inconsistency in the writing of F: although he is, even for that age, exceptionally lavish in the use of capitals, so lavish, in fact, as to deprive them of almost any distinguishing significance, it may surely be presumed that, had he sent his manuscript to a printer, and had he intended that printer to capitalize any nouns at all other than proper names, he would have intended him to capitalize the word 'Felicity', which occurs so often and which is, indeed, the chief subject of his meditations. Nevertheless, if we follow Mr. Margoliouth in printing only prolonged F's in capitals and all

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Margoliouth does not actually use the word 'transcript', but he speaks of 'Transcription'.

unprolonged F's in lower case, these are some of the results we obtain: III. 22, l. 16, l.c.; III. 28, l. 7, l.c.; l. 10, l.c.; III. 30, l. 3, cap.; l. 11, cap.; III. 36, l. 7, l.c.; III. 37, l. 2, cap.; III. 46, l. 12, cap.; III. 56, l. 1, cap.; l. 4, l.c.; l. 6, cap.; l. 9, cap.; III. 57, ll. 1-2 (3 times) cap.; III. 58, l. 5, l.c.; III. 59, l. 11, l.c.; IV. 9, l. 24, l.c.; IV. 55, l. 10, l.c.; IV. 77, l. 2, l.c.

There can be no doubt that when Traherne wrote unprolonged F immediately after a full stop he intended it to represent a capital, and it seems to me very probable that he always intended it to represent a capital in 'Felicity' and often in some other nouns. With letters other than F, when what looks like a small letter follows what looks like a full stop, it may be safely assumed either that what looks like a full stop was intended to represent a colon or a comma, or else that what looks like a small letter was intended to represent a capital. Examples of initial letters other than F which Mr. Margoliouth has printed in lower case after full stops are: IV. 5, l. 14 'yet'; IV. 74, l. 21 'then'; IV. 75, l. 21 'it'; l. 23 'statuit'. Mr. Margoliouth has even carried what I am tempted to call his refusal to distinguish between appearance and reality so far as to print a lower-case initial after a full stop in passages where Traherne has deleted some initial word or words and omitted to recapitalize: e.g. II. 21, l. 6 'ancient'; IV. 5, l. 15 'he'. Sometimes the fact that he has decided, or been persuaded, to wear these blinkers of a mistaken and pedantic literalness has led him to regard as insoluble problems which his acute intelligence would otherwise have solved in half a minute. At I. 70, ll. 5-8 of his text read as follows:

He Exalteth Thee by His Laws and causeth Thee to reign in all others. the World. And Souls are like his thy Heavenly Mansions The Lawgiver of Heaven and Earth Employeth all His Authority for Thee.

The passage from 'the World' to 'Heavenly Mansions' in an insertion, and in a note Mr. Margoliouth says that he does not understand the full stop after 'World'. It has, of course, no business to be there, for the meaning clearly is: 'the World and Souls are, like his, thy Heavenly Mansions.' Traherne probably wrote first 'And souls are like his thy Heavenly Mansions', and then added later 'the World'.

In passages where there is a long list of capitalized nouns it seems very unlikely that what may look like a small initial letter was not intended to represent a capital: e.g. I. 33, ll. 4-5, 'The Works of Darkness are Repining, Envy, Malice, Covetousness, fraud, Oppression, Discontent and Violence'; and IV. 74, ll. 28-30, where it is hard to suppose that 'familiaris', 'sensuum perspicacia', and 'fluxi' were not intended, like all the other nouns and adjectives in this quotation from Pico, to have capitals.

It should now be clear that this is a manuscript where capitalization and punctuation must continually be interpreted rather than transcribed, and it seems to me to lie entirely within an editor's discretion what he shall do about them. With punctuation he should interfere as little as possible, but he should leave nothing in his text that is obviously absurd or impossible. As for capitals, a very strong case could be made out for omitting them altogether, except in proper names. Traherne's use of them is, as I have remarked, so lavish as to deprive them of almost all distinguishing significance; indeed, a mere general reader of

Mr. Margoliouth's text might well be misled into pondering the significance, not of capitals, but of degradation to lower case! Moreover, since Traherne so frequently uses them, not merely with nouns, but with adjectives and verbs as well, they tend to diffuse even over the *Centuries* something of that aura of crack-pottedness and mere ejaculation which we find in his less successful poetry and often in the *Thanksgivings*. If, however, the editor decides to preserve, as Mr. Margoliouth has rightly done, Traherne's spelling, he might justifiably decide, in order to keep a more consistently contemporary atmosphere, to capitalize all abstract nouns, while leaving all other nouns other than proper names, and certainly all adjectives and verbs, in lower case.

This question of how capitals and punctuation should be dealt with in the editing of seventeenth-century manuscripts is one that has never, so far as I am aware, received the kind of attention it deserves; the distinction between what can and what cannot be transcribed with certainty has never been clearly perceived; and the precise value of attempting to preserve a multitude of doubtfully ascertainable and, for the most part, meaningless distinctions has never been properly investigated. It has therefore seemed to me important to raise the question and to formulate the distinction; and, since it has been impossible to do this without a considerable amount of argument and illustration, I may perhaps have tended to convey the impression that Mr. Margoliouth's procedure in these matters occupies an altogether disproportionate place in my estimate of the value of his edition. This is far from being so, and only lack of space has prevented me from giving much more ample illustration than I have done of the many things about it which I whole-heartedly admire. But the very fact that it will remain, as I have said, a definitive edition, and therefore an example to students and future editors, seemed to make it desirable to draw attention to those few things in it which should not, in my opinion, be regarded as exemplary; for it is precisely in these more mechanical matters (as some would regard them) that a great editor is most imitable, and that his procedures can become accepted as established rules-of-thumb by lesser men.

It is a pleasure to conclude with a few remarks, however brief, upon some of his excellent annotations to the *Centuries*. I. 3, ll. 4-5: 'Is it not a Great Thing, that you should be Heir of the World?' Mr. Margoliouth refers to Romans iv. 13: 'For the promise that he should be heir of the world was not to Abraham, or to his seed, through the law, but through the righteousness of faith'; and he reminds us that, although Traherne eventually decided to divide his book into 'Centuries', he never entitled it 'Centuries of Meditations', and that, had he wanted to give it a title, he might have called it 'The Heir of the World'. (Mr. Margoliouth also asks us to 'compare' the poem *Haeres Mundi*, but most readers, like myself, will not have the least idea of what poem it is that he has in mind.) I. 59, l. 12: 'There we might see the Rock of Ages, and the Joys of Heaven.' Except for the A.V. marginal to Isaiah xxvi. 4, Mr. Margoliouth can recall no other use of the phrase 'Rock of Ages' until Toplady's hymn a century later. I. 80, ll. 11-12: 'Cannot we see and Lov and Enjoy each other at 100 Miles Distance?' This is evidence that Traherne wrote the *Centuries* while he was with Bridgeman in London, about a hundred miles from his friend Mrs. Susannah

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Hopton at Hereford. III. 7, ll. 1-2: 'The first Light which shined in my Infancy . . . was totally ecclipsed.' The obvious resemblance to the second line of Vaughan's *The Retreat* has not, I think, been pointed out before. Traherne presumably knew *Silex Scintillans*, and, although it is by no means necessary to suppose so, it is even possible that this poem implanted in him a seed that grew into a tree. III. 8, ll. 12-13: Mr. Margoliouth has an interesting note on the 'Pelagianism' of this passage. III. 66-92: in the course of his notes on these meditations Mr. Margoliouth produces much evidence for what has not been sufficiently noticed, the fact that Traherne found in the Bible, and especially in the Psalms, ample confirmation of his feelings about the *Liber Creaturarum*. In IV. 61, ll. 8-9 (as also in the poem 'The Review' II, ll. 11-12, p. 152) there is a reminiscence of the last line of Shirley's most famous poem. IV. 74, l. 23: Miss Wade is mistaken in supposing that Traherne is here quoting 'Hermes Trismegistus' directly; he is quoting from Pico, from whom the whole of meditations 75-77 are also taken.

The concise analyses, section by section, of each Century, which precede the notes upon them, will be invaluable to all serious students.

J. B. LEISHMAN

**The Poems of John Dryden.** Edited by JAMES KINSLEY. Vol. I, pp. xxii+466; Vol. II, pp. viii+467-1002; Vol. III, pp. vi+1003-1436; Vol. IV, pp. vi+1437-2014. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1958. £10. 10s. net.

Two years after the publication of the first volume of the California Dryden the poet appears for the first time in the Oxford English Texts. It is a remarkable editorial performance; and in these days when a team of editors is customarily required, a reviewer warms to Professor Kinsley as Wordsworth did to the sailor's mother:

The ancient spirit is not dead;  
Old times, thought I, are breathing there;  
Proud was I that my country bred  
Such strength, a dignity so fair.

Readers with ten guineas to spend may now possess an edition more complete, of sounder text, and with fuller annotation than either of the two most readily accessible editions. In this new edition there are thirty poems (including the translations of Virgil and Boileau) not to be found in the Oxford Standard Authors, and twenty not to be found in Noyes's Cambridge (Mass.) Edition (1950). Of the twenty poems not in Noyes, nineteen are songs from plays.

The new edition also excludes poems of doubtful authenticity printed in O.S.A. and Noyes. Noyes's edition concludes with an appendix of poems attributed to Dryden or only in part written by him. The appendix consists of thirty items: some of these are to be found in the new edition, and careful search will reveal an editorial explanation why some others have been excluded. Thus the commentary on the prologue to *Secret Love* indicates that the epilogue, printed by Noyes with the prologue, is not by Dryden; and reasons for rejecting

two hymns included by the O.S.A. and Cambridge editors will be found in the commentary on 'Veni Creator Spiritus, Translated in Paraphrase'. Mr. Kinsley can always be trusted to weigh the evidence: he offers a particularly neat and concise pronouncement in defending Dryden's claim to the epilogue intended for *Calisto*. But it must be allowed that the handling of canon and apocrypha is not altogether satisfactory. An introductory note upon the canon, and an appendix of apocryphal poems (or of their titles and first lines) would have tidily completed the editor's task; and an asterisk used in the table of contents to stigmatize poems of multiple authorship or doubtful authenticity would have been helpful to the reader.

The poems are arranged in order of first appearance in print. No arrangement, remarks Mr. Kinsley, is without its inconveniences. The old convention of arrangement by kind prevents a study of Dryden's career; an arrangement by date of composition could not exclude conjecture. The new arrangement is at least based upon fact; but it has the disadvantage of encouraging readers to believe that *Mac Flecknoe* was written after *Absalom and Achitophel*; and by reserving some prologues and epilogues of the mid-sixteen-seventies for their first printed appearance in 1684, the study of Dryden's stage career is disturbed.

The Oxford and California editors have adopted the same policy towards the text. They have normally taken the first edition as copy-text, and have introduced apparently authoritative variants. The reader who lives far from great libraries will feel a sense of assurance on discovering that for page after page the text of these two editions is identical. In at least one poem where they differ—the charming epilogue to *The Man of Mode*—the Oxford readings are to be preferred, on the score not just of faithfulness in record but of exercise of editorial judgement; while the commentary upon the prologue and epilogue to *Mithridates King of Pontus* (poems not yet included in the California edition) makes an admirably judicial pronouncement on a difficult textual problem.

The two editions differ most markedly in their treatment of the commentary. The California editors in their generosity might seem at times to have exhausted the possibilities of comment; Mr. Kinsley, on the other hand, though it is his policy 'to explain the occasion of each poem, elucidate the text, identify quotations and adaptations, and illustrate the more important of Dryden's literary and intellectual affinities', seems to have aimed at an irreducible minimum of notes. It is possible to wish both that the California editors had offered less and Mr. Kinsley more. It will be a long time before even the well-instructed reader learns all that Mr. Kinsley can teach him himself, and all that other scholars can teach him in the articles to which his attention is drawn. He will be lacking in generosity if he then complains that there is, for example, no note on the significance of 'Ivy' in the penultimate line of 'To the Memory of Mr. Oldham', or on 'Ptisan' (l. 16) and 'Asses Milk' (l. 18) in the prologue to *Albion and Albanius*. These are minor oversights. But he might have some reason to regret that Mr. Kinsley offers him no help on Dryden's place in the development of the Pindaric Ode, or on Dryden's use of critical terminology. He might also expect a more lavish annotation of *The Medall*. That poem is firmly based on contemporary theories of contract, on which Mr. Kinsley writes a succinct note appended

to *Absalom and Achitophel*, 759-810; there should be at least a cross-reference to this note from *The Medall*, 82-87, 111-18. But it is with *Religio Laici* where the need of more lavish annotation is felt. What is required for a fuller understanding is a more liberal provision of analogues, much of which might come from contemporary Deist and Platonist writing. Without such provision it is difficult to recognize the force of many passages; and it is even less easy to appreciate Dryden's skill in manipulating the arguments of the day. To ask for this from an editor who can write so concisely is not to ask for more than an additional ten pages of commentary.

The Commentary is printed at the end of Volume IV. The publishers have given the reader little help in directing his eye from the page of text to the relevant page in the Commentary, and none whatever in finding cross-references to notes on other poems.

JOHN BUTT

**History of the Royal Society.** By THOMAS SPRAT. Edited with critical apparatus by JACKSON I. COPE and HAROLD WHITMORE JONES. Pp. xxxiv + A-B4<sup>v</sup> + 440 (facsimile) + ii + 78 (Washington University Studies). Saint Louis, Missouri: Washington University, 1958.

Sprat's *History of the Royal Society* claims attention for its fame rather than for its merits. Johnson and Macaulay both praise Sprat for his prose style; but much of the *History* consists of papers written or contributed by Fellows of the Society and of lists of their activities; elsewhere there are too much facility and a distasteful nationalism; Sprat seldom reaches his highest level. For historians of science the book is disappointing: 'history' in the title means not a narrative of the rise and progress of the Society, but a systematic description of its constitution and activities; with this is combined a defence of scientific studies in a doubtful or hostile world; the treatment is generally superficial. The best passages are those which deal with prose style or with moral issues.

The present edition consists of a photographic facsimile of a copy of the 1667 edition and of an introduction, notes, and appendixes. There is no index, and the table of contents is inadequate as a guide to Sprat's text. The lines of his pages are numbered, but the presence of misprints is not indicated on the pages, whether or not they are acknowledged in Sprat's list of errata.

The introduction deals with the occasion for the *History*; with the need to vindicate the Society from the pious on the one side, from the scoffers on the other; and with the language and style of the *History*. It is an interesting essay, but fails to trace the growth of the book and the Society's concern in it; and the bibliographical information is scanty and vague.

The notes include a remarkable series of quotations from Sprat's writings other than the *History*, from Joseph Glanvill, and from Henry Stubbe. The last was a venomous assailant, too hot on every issue to carry much weight; an appendix deals with his later attacks on the Society. The rendering of the quotations is careless and in one case Stubbe is misrepresented; but they show some



of the dangers threatening the young Society, and Stubbe was capable of exposing Sprat's lightmindedness. For the Fellows' papers there are useful bibliographical notes.

Apart from these two groups the notes are apt to be unsatisfactory. The editors pay too little attention to Sprat's meaning; what they do, they frequently do badly; and they leave too much undone. Some of these defects emanate from a feature to which they call attention:

They have tried to provide materials useful to the historian of science, an effort which has resulted in the long series of notes referring to Thomas Birch's *History of the Royal Society*. . . . Birch's invaluable reprint of 'the original journals, registers, letter and council-books' of the Society has been crippled for two centuries by want of an index; it is our hope that these annotations will serve to make Birch's *History* as well as Sprat's more readily usable.

A proper index to Birch's book (which, incidentally, is not a 'reprint') is highly desirable; such pieces of index to it as can be interspersed in the notes to Sprat would at best be of little use; here not only is Sprat unindexed, but anyone who turns through Birch's pages will find in such entries as the editors attempt so many omissions as to forbid reliance on any of their notes of this kind.

A few specimens will indicate the nature and range of the errors and deficiencies:

Sprat, p. 36, after praise of Bacon: 'But yet his *Philosophical Works* do shew, that a single, and busie hand can never grasp all this whole Design [of research by experiment]. His Rules were admirable: yet his *History* not so faithful, as might have been wish'd in many places, he seems rather to take all that comes, then to choose; and to heap, rather, then to register.' Note: 'History: *The Historie of the Raigne of King Henry the Seventh* (1622). See p. 75 below.' At p. 75 Sprat cites the *Historie*; here by 'History' he means systematic description. What he means by Bacon's 'Rules' is not indicated in the notes.

Sprat, pp. 130-1: 'of very many of [the medical] profession I will affirm, that *All Apollo is their own*, as it was said by the best *Poet* of this Age, of one of the most excellent of their number.' Note: 'Poet: Cowley uses the phrase in his odes on Harvey and Falkland, and Waller in verses on Falkland and Dr. George Rogers.' There are at least two obvious objections to the note as an elucidation, and it is false in fact. Sprat adapts 'But *whole Apollo* is thine owne' in Cowley's ode to Dr. (later Sir Charles) Scarborough; nothing similar occurs in any of the four poems cited.

Sprat, p. 185, printing a paper by Lawrence Rooke: '*Defectus Medicæorum observatu* . . .' Note: 'The reference may be to either [of two works, both published in 1665]. Rooke died in 1662.

Sprat, p. 199: '*Relations* . . . of a way to make use of Eggs in painting, instead of Oyl.' The note cites Birch, ii. 84, 108, but omits the important notice, ii. 107. Conversely, on the same page: '*Relations* . . . of a *Mummy* found in the Ruines of Saint Pauls, after it had lain buried above 200. years.' Note: 'Mummy: Birch, II, 88, 121; *P.T.* [i.e. *Philosophical Transactions*, vols. i-iii], 361; Grew, *Museum*, p. 1; cf. p. 209 below.' Only one citation relates to the corpse of Bishop Robert



Braybroke, the object mentioned by Sprat; the rest refer to mummies from Egypt and so on; and if the cross-reference to Sprat, p. 209, is given, why not Birch, i. 311, both relating to embalmed corpses in Tenerife?

Sprat, p. 228, in a contributed table, '*d. gr.*' This is explained as drams and grains. '*d.*' means pennyweight. A comment on the contributor's arithmetic is unjustified.

Sprat, p. 260: Nitre 'was so common' in Cairo 'that ten pounds of it would not cost a *Moidin*.' Note: '*Moidin*: Moidore, a Portuguese gold coin.' The moidore was worth about twenty-seven shillings; the coin here is the Egyptian medine, worth about two pence.

The combination of dilettantism and carelessness extends to the domestic history of the Society. Thus Sprat, p. 434: 'The places of their *Residence* they [the Fellows of the Society] have appointed to be two: One a *College*, which they design to build in *London*, to serve for their *Meetings*. . . . The other the *College* at *Chelsey*, which the *King* has bestow'd on them. . . .' There is a long note on the Society's acquisition and sale of Chelsea College, with citations of twenty-two passages in Birch. The reader who works through Birch will find at least twenty-five additional relevant passages, a serious misrepresentation about the date of the Society's acquisition of the property, and some other objectionable statements. Still, it is something that there is a note; the editors ignore the projected London building.

E. S. DE BEER

**The Literary Works of Matthew Prior.** Edited by H. BUNKER WRIGHT and MONROE K. SPEARS. Vol. I, pp. liv + 722; Vol. II, pp. viii + 723-1094. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1959. £6. 6s. net.

The two editors of these volumes, H. Bunker Wright (Miami University) and Monroe K. Spears (Vanderbilt University), deserve a vote of praise for the range and character of this complete presentation of Prior's literary works. The only approach, an approach only, was that of A. R. Waller in two volumes, 1905 to 1907. The edition now lying before us is the product of long collaboration, using in the main the three principal collections of Prior manuscripts, the Welbeck Collection of the Duke of Portland, the Longleat Collection of the Marquis of Bath, and the Miami University Collection. This last-named collection is a bundle of eighty-five folio leaves containing fair copies of fifty-six of Prior's works, a task carried through by Adrian Drift, his secretary, after his master's death. The Miami manuscript, which was put up for sale by Sotheby in 1948, had disappeared for about a century. It was purchased by Dobell, from whom it was bought for the University of Miami Library.

If of humble origin, Prior succeeded in being awarded a scholarship at St. John's College, Cambridge. There in due course he was elected to a Fellowship which he held throughout his life. It is of interest to reflect that in the reign of Queen Anne, John Robinson, Bishop of Bristol, was the last English ecclesiastic

to hold diplomatic office; and in the same reign Matthew Prior, whom rightly we regard as primarily a poet, was an exceptionally gifted political negotiator. As has been said, however, like most men with two vocations, he failed to reach the foremost rank in either. Nevertheless, Prior can claim justly to be described as the most distinguished English poet to have been engaged continuously for a great part of his life in a diplomatic career.

With the Hanoverian accession Prior was recalled from Paris and impeached. During this period he occupied himself with the writing of verse. Friends, and among them actively Swift, promoted a folio edition of his poems by subscription, realizing that he never wisely 'had the vicissitudes of human things before his eyes'. This folio volume of 1718 was said to have brought him 4,000 guineas. If we carry our count farther beyond this date in mere quantity and examine the work of Prior's last editors we find that the number of his verse pieces composed in English extends to well over 300. Not all of them reached the eye of Dr. Johnson, but he, though not a wholehearted admirer of Prior, averred that his diction was 'more his own than that of any among the successors of Dryden: he borrows no lucky turns or commodious modes of language from his predecessors'.

The range, the alternations, even the weight of Prior's verse in his more serious poems fail to command the recognition which is their due. *Solomon on the Vanity of the World* in three books occupied him much time and cost him trouble. Pope made use of it in the *Essay on Man*; and it was greatly admired by William Cowper. It was translated into Latin verse. *Alma*, in three cantos, described by the author as a 'trifle' and as a 'long and hasty scribble' is something better and certainly an admirable example of facile octosyllabic versification. It is true that if we seek impressive gravity in Prior we must find it elsewhere, as, for example, in the moving lines written 'in the Beginning of Mezeray's History of France'—

Yet for the Fame of all these Deeds,  
What Beggar in the *Invalides*,  
With Lameness broke, with Blindness smitten,  
Wish'd ever decently to die,  
To have been either Mezeray,  
Or any Monarch he has written?

But it is the poems of Prior's familiar manner, the unexpected, the delightful, apt turns, the love catches, which remain in the memory—'Hans Carvel', 'The Lady's Looking Glass', 'Jinny the Just', 'Down Hall', 'Conversation', and others in the same genre. Is not 'Jinny the Just' a counterpart of Swift's 'Mrs. Harris' or 'Mary the Cook-Maid's Letter'?

Prior collected or acknowledged much less than half his work. For over 100 of the poems printed in his 1718 folio there are no manuscript copies. In dealing with their abundant material the two editors have been unsparingly industrious. Whether in verse, in prose, in English, or in Latin nothing has been overlooked. Many of the poems carry with them a close textual apparatus. In the second volume appear Latin works and works of doubtful authenticity. In Volume II, further, an elaborate annotative commentary is provided. Here the reader must turn studiously backward and forward between volume and volume. This

tedious process is by no means as simple a task as the editors may have supposed it would prove. Further, a decided limitation in a work of this nature is the absence of a general index. The commentary must be consulted as readily as may be with the further help of an index of first lines and an index of short titles. It must be confessed that despite all the pains, all the accuracy, all the labour of the two editors, these volumes are not ready reference works. There may also be readers who will feel that the Prior they have known, so vital and attractive, emerges but indistinctly upon the scene.

HAROLD WILLIAMS

**The Correspondence of Edmund Burke.** Vol. I, April 1744–June 1768. Edited by THOMAS W. COPELAND. Pp. xxviii+378. Cambridge: University Press, 1958. 60s. net.

This is the first volume to appear of an edition of all the known letters of Burke, and a number of letters to him, which is being undertaken by Professor Copeland, with the support of an impressive editorial and advisory committee of distinguished historians, economists, and experienced editors of eighteenth-century letters. The project has been planned on the most generous lines, and the Cambridge Press has produced a handsome page. But this is only possible at a considerable price, which cannot be less than thirty pounds. The alternative would have been to squeeze the material into half the number of volumes, and crowd the page as if it were intended only for a reference book, as was done in the recent edition of Pope's *Letters*, edited by Professor Sherburn. I am sure that he, as a member of the Advisory Committee, would have strongly opposed any such economy for Burke.

Yet it must remain a considerable question whether these editions now appearing of every scrap of manuscript, notebooks, journals, marginalia, which can be discovered by using all the methods of organized research, can properly be regarded as anything but reference books, of which the most indispensable feature is a good index. The editors have had this in mind, for they promise a full index in the final volume, as well as the index of persons mentioned provided in each separate volume. They give good reasons for not including all the available letters to Burke, and promise that photographic copies and transcripts of everything a scholar might wish to consult will eventually be available in the Sheffield Central Library. In their Checklist published in 1955, 'the total number of letters is just short of 7000, recording Burke's contacts with 1200 separate correspondents'. The present volume includes all the letters that he himself wrote between the ages of sixteen and forty. It is not surprising that a good deal of this is not of much literary value. It contains useful biographical material, though lacking intimate details of his family and friends; it provides some information for the literary, social, or political historian of the period; but it is neither amusing nor scandalous and reveals little of the mind of the writer, and will tempt very few to read the volume straight through.

The editor warns us that Burke's early letters 'are not all that one might expect.... They do not record much of their writer's experience, perhaps because he had had very little. They do not give proof of a precocious sensitivity to language, being in fact rather carelessly written.' But it is not only the undergraduate letters that I find disappointing. Nearly twenty years later, in the sixties, after he had gained a literary reputation and was editing the *Annual Register* for Dodsley, some of his letters, for example to Mrs. Elizabeth Montagu, are almost enough to justify his lumbering excuses and his final apology for sending her so tiresome a letter:

I confess that until this moment I could not call up confidence enough to address a letter to you without the passport of some sort of news; but... I have at length sat down to write because in duty bound, without the least hope of diverting you or of satisfying myself, for if I were to speak from what I feel of my opinion of Mrs Montagu's genius, of her virtues, and of my innumerable obligations to her friendship, I should say indeed what would be very sincere and very true, but then I should say, what to her would be the most unentertaining thing in the world. So that the only subject upon which I can speak is the only one which it is improper for me to mention.

Indeed, I find a surprising amount of little polite gesturings and formalities in these early letters, even when addressed to a close friend like Shackleton; and a style and manner very far from anything easy or conversational in the letters to David Garrick, though he addresses him with affectionate familiarity. If we compare these letters written by Burke in the sixties with the letters which were being exchanged between Walpole and Gray, we realize what is missing in them. There is so little about books or about the literary world. Though Burke was an original member of THE CLUB, he never mentions it in these letters, nor once refers to Dr. Johnson or to Goldsmith. He scarcely mentions any of his own writings, though that may be in part explained by the fact that there are only three letters extant for the period from 1752 to 1759, when his *Vindication of Natural Society* and *Sublime and Beautiful* appeared, and the first volume which he edited of the *Annual Register*. Moreover, he often confesses to his friends that he is a bad correspondent, hoping that they will not judge of his regard for them by the punctuality of his writing. And he maintains what can hardly be accepted as true of many of his contemporaries that 'those who are very fond of scribbling other things are of all people the least to be depended on for writing Letters'. He does not seem to enjoy writing letters. They are either an irksome duty or a poor substitute for conversation between friends.

But when he is finally launched on his public career, as private secretary to Lord Rockingham and as a member of Parliament, his letters to his friends and his colleagues take on a new shape. They are written with vigour and with spirit, because he is concerned to report political 'occurrences', news and gossip, with details of debates in the House and his part in them; because, in fact, he is able to put into them 'the things I have most at heart... I mean the Transactions in Parliament, which find my thoughts some employment both in and out of the house, and which I stick to exclusively of everything else, not only as a satisfaction, but as a refuge'.

This was written to Charles O'Hara in 1766; but the whole correspondence between them, which survives from July 1761, provides a full and most valuable record of Burke's political interests and activities, and sometimes gives us detailed reports of the debates of the House and lists of those who took part in them.

No one could be better equipped than Mr. Copeland for the task of editing this correspondence, after the complete survey he has made of all the surviving Burke manuscripts, and his excellent study of various biographical problems in his *Six Essays* published in 1950. No one could have been more successful in obtaining support from all the owners of miscellaneous material outside the main collections at Sheffield, and in drawing upon the help of experts like Mr. John Brooke and Mr. Gerrit Judd to solve problems connected with the history of Parliament and the identification of its members. He has used this material and the fruit of his own extensive research with admirable judgement, providing just the right amount of explanation in his clear, terse notes.

Few will object to any of his rules for transcribing the manuscripts, though there will always remain the doubt whether in some cases peculiarities of spelling and punctuation may be preserved which the author himself would have expected the compositor or the corrector to have normalized, if they had been printed during the eighteenth century. Can the editor be sure, for instance, that in his letter to Henry Flood of 18 May 1765 Burke really intended to write 'meanness' and 'probability'? Such spellings do not seem to occur elsewhere, and might well have been normalized in a letter which ends with this apology: 'I doubt you can hardly read this hand; but it is very late.'

Finally, there is one thing missing which one might have expected to find, and may perhaps hope to find in later volumes of this edition, namely, some photographs of the manuscripts to provide at least a sample of Burke's handwriting, especially as the most important series of letters in this volume are in private hands in Ireland and in America.

HERBERT DAVIS

**The Letters of Mary Wordsworth 1800-1855.** Selected and edited by MARY E. BURTON. Pp. xxx + 364. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1958. 42s. net.

Professor Burton introduces, prints, and annotates 178 letters, mainly from the collections at Dove Cottage and in the possession of Miss Joanna Hutchinson. Those up to and including 1820 are printed in full, as far as the sources permit;<sup>1</sup> after this date letters or passages of minor interest are omitted. There is a good index, and a useful tree of the Hutchinson family, which does not, however, include the descendants of Mary Wordsworth.

Students of William Wordsworth hoping for new light on the poet will find rather less here than in the letters of his sister and sister-in-law. His sonnet 'A Parsonage in Oxfordshire' and the parallel note to *Ecclesiastical Sonnets*, III. xviii,

<sup>1</sup> The Preface states that 'all of the letters up to and including 1820' are included; but G. H. Healey, *The Cornell Wordsworth Collection* (Ithaca, 1957), lists one of 1816 (item 2589) which does not appear here.

are now seen to be indebted to Letter 29, which he wished to be kept 'as memoranda', and which supplied, or at least recalled, the close conjunction of garden and churchyard, 'shrub and flower', and poplars. Whether the greenness of the Rhine near Schaffhausen (*Ecc. Son.*, II. xliii) comes from Letter 31, or from Dorothy Wordsworth's journal, or from Wordsworth's own recollection, can hardly be determined. A few poems are now more precisely dated (pp. 117, 240-2, 265), and an early draft of the second provided. Elsewhere the narrative is familiar: his inability to work to order (pp. 88 ff.), his exhaustion after attempts, sometimes futile, at revision (pp. 191, 197), and the like.

Miss Burton's introduction summarizes the relations between her author and the other members of the household which she ruled. It is least convincing in its attempt to rationalize the extraordinary reactions of Dorothy Wordsworth to the marriage (pp. xxiv-xxvi). It is abundantly clear that Mary's family opposed the marriage, but, if the opposition roused any feeling at all in Dorothy, one would have expected it to be defiance of the Hutchinsons rather than the excess of joy at the conclusion of the ceremony at which Miss Burton hints. The alternative interpretation of her behaviour which Miss Burton also mentions seems more natural.

The personality of the writer revealed in the letters is as attractive, but hardly so remarkable, as the introduction suggests. It may be true that Wordsworth's 'mind was set free' by his marriage for the composition of some of his best work (p. xxvi); yet there is a paucity of poems for nearly a year after October 1802 which is in marked contrast to the large output of the preceding spring and summer. And it might have been added that about the same time Wordsworth achieved some measure of financial stability as well as the emotional repose on which Miss Burton dwells. Dorothy as well as Mary knew 'the inhibitions that at times made composition impossible';<sup>1</sup> and no doubt there have been many wives who do not 'stand in awe' of their husbands, who are 'without pretence', and who keep a 'sense of proportion' (p. xxviii). Although Miss Burton has removed 'local incident and repetitious detail' from the later letters (p. vi), a good deal remains, and in this respect the letters do not match de Quincey's account of the writer's 'few words', even though they amply confirm Clarkson on her fondness for 'God bless you!', her almost constant valediction to intimates.<sup>2</sup> Yet in times of stress Mary Wordsworth is indeed remarkable: notably, as Miss Burton observes, in her efforts for her husband when Dora's death shattered his morale. She takes the initiative, urging him to face realities: she arranges a journey so that 'he has to meet tender associations, to face which he dreaded ... if that trial ... can be got over, I trust, in God's mercy, that his mind, being more reconciled to itself, he may bear his deep deep sorrow more calmly' (p. 286); and so on p. 309. Of her own distress in these and similar circumstances she says little, but enough to indicate its reality. She reports the depressing symptoms of Dorothy's dotage with sympathy, and is obviously pleased when she can occasionally record a brief return to normality.

<sup>1</sup> See pp. 88 ff., and cf. Dorothy to Quillinan, on the same occasion, in *Letters: Later Years* (Oxford, 1939), pp. 88, 99.

<sup>2</sup> It is common in Sara Hutchinson's letters, and may well be a family phrase.



Mary Wordsworth's English is not always precise, and it is therefore risky to suggest emendations where the text appears unsatisfactory; but the following passages seem in need of some surgery.

P. 24: 'the critics [Hazlitt's] departure for this unaccommodating country [the Lake District]'. For 'for' read 'from'? P. 41: a blurred passage read by Miss Burton as '[ ]ld' was read by de Selincourt as '2 old' (*Poetical Works*, iii (1946), 506). P. 170: 'Best you have lost the Mem:'. For 'Best' read 'Lest'?<sup>1</sup> P. 178: 'but the knees will now allow of their enjoying the privilege . . . till next week'. For 'now' read 'not'? P. 209: 'fresh' in the sonnet, lacking a rhyme, must be either a miswriting by Mary Wordsworth or a mistranscription; and similarly 'ther's our', p. 242. P. 235: is the word doubtfully read as 'Britsea' an attempt to write 'Britzka'? P. 237: 'John . . . must not be hurt at receiving any answer'. Read ' . . . at [not] receiving . . .'? P. 319: for 'low motion' read 'locomotion'?<sup>2</sup> I do not understand the phrases 'but for reasons' (p. 226) and 'at another coach over' (p. 233), but can suggest no remedies.

Apart from occasional difficulties arising from the confusing names and initials of the Wordsworth circle (Professor Coburn's method in her *Letters of Sara Hutchinson* makes identification rather easier), the annotations are almost always adequate. The dialectal *granky* 'grumbling' (p. 18) and *fendy* 'resourceful' (p. 78) might have been glossed. Quotations on p. 64 ('Green Pristine Vales')<sup>3</sup> and p. 303 (from 'Lines Written in Early Spring') should have been identified. On p. 168, *handsome* seems to be used in some unusual sense. On p. 172, 'the Dr.' should have been identified as Southey's *The Doctor* (cf. p. 219). 'Colonial Packet' (p. 224) and 'pop visits' (p. 230) are obscure and unexplained. On p. 232, n. 2, add 'C.R.', pp. 394-5, after quotation. There are a few certain or probable errors. For 'C.R.' (p. xxvii, n. 1) read 'H.C.R.'. For '1886' (p. 34, n. 1) read '1868'. *Yarrow Revisited* was probably not published until April 1835, when Longman's account of the first edition was drawn up (p. 136, n. 3). On p. 171, n. 1, and p. 282, n. 2, descriptions of books are printed as if they were titles. Cottle (p. 291, n. 3) was not 'W. W.'s first publisher'.

W. J. B. OWEN

**Charles Dickens. A Critical Introduction.** By K. J. FIELDING. Pp. vi+218. London: Longmans, Green, 1958. 15s. net.

Mr. Fielding divides his book into thirteen chapters, each dealing with a little of Dickens's life and one or more of his literary works. The mixture is not unusual in introductory essays of this kind. Nevertheless, Mr. Fielding might have made more effective use of his powers as a biographer and as a critic if he had not committed himself to composing biography and criticism simultaneously

<sup>1</sup> See *Letters: Later Years*, pp. 884, 886, 894, on the memorandum and Wordsworth's mislaying of it.

<sup>2</sup> Cf., in Healey, plate facing p. 257, the initial *co-* in *continue*, which (in isolation) could be read as *w-*.

<sup>3</sup> The phrase quoted seems to be Mary's recollection of *The Prelude* (1805), vi. 448: 'A green recess, an aboriginal vale'; cf. Dorothy's *Journals* (London, 1941), ii. 280.



—or at any rate in rapid alternation with each other. His account of Dickens's life is sympathetic and just. But it loses by its dispersal through the book. The same may be said of his criticism of the novels. His views on these are so sensible that it is especially regrettable that his plan prevents him from developing them consecutively in any one place.

During the past half-century a number of writers have tried to represent Dickens as a profound social prophet. According to G. B. Shaw he thought the existing social order 'transitory, mistaken, objectionable, and pathological: a social disease to be cured'; and in Professor Edgar Johnson's opinion he exhibited a 'violent hostility to industrial capitalism and its entire scheme of life'. Mr. Fielding, however, is as little impressed by Dickens the analyst of society as was George Orwell, whose essay on Dickens he warmly admires; and, in his discussion of *Bleak House*, *Hard Times*, *Little Dorrit*, *Great Expectations*, and *Our Mutual Friend*, he convincingly justifies his scepticism. He does not fail to admire Dickens's generous zeal in the denunciation of particular social ills and abuses. He agrees that the description of the Circumlocution Office, for example, is a skilful satiric exposure of some of the realities of government at that time. 'But', he adds, 'whether it is right to accept it now as a satisfactory and complete analysis of mid-Victorian society is quite another matter' (p. 150).

In attacking particular social ills and abuses, Dickens wrote as a moralist; and neither the undogmatic nature of his religion nor the common twentieth-century assumption that he has nothing more to offer than a 'philosophie de la Noël' prevents Mr. Fielding from describing him as a Christian moralist. Discussing *Great Expectations*, he very thoroughly refutes Shaw's contention that neither Pip nor his creator had any religion.

In his moral concern for reform, as in so much else, Dickens was very close to his readers. Professors John Butt and Kathleen Tillotson have recently reminded us just how close to them he was able to keep by writing his novels for serial publication. Mr. Fielding sets down the most important facts about Dickens's methods of composition and publication. But he might advantageously have allowed himself also to indicate how Dickens, employing these methods, entered into a relationship with his public not unlike that of an oral story-teller with his, and how this relationship contributed to the creation of the magnificent 'Dickens world'.

Concerning the characters who compose this, Mr. Fielding has some good things to say. He very reasonably refuses to judge them by criteria derived from the theory and practice of Henry James. 'Analysis', he writes, 'was not what Dickens was after, nor any of the other novelists of that time. He merely wanted to show characters as vividly as possible in their appearance and speech. If he praised another novelist, in his letters, he singled out the qualities of force, originality, and skill of expression' (p. 109). It is above all in their speech that these characters live.

A few faulty sentences disfigure Mr. Fielding's text. On page 52, for example, it is not clear whether the heroines of Jane Austen and Scott are said to be 'more attractive' than Little Nell or than Molly Seagrim and Goody Brown; and the sentence which spans pages 75 and 76 is syntactically a wreck. But it would be

unjust to make too much of such blemishes, or even of the description of the Puseyite Mrs. Pardiggle as an evangelical (p. 122). In general, this is a clear, compact, well-informed, and judicious study, offering a useful and suggestive introduction to Dickens's life and work.

J. D. JUMP

**Tennyson and *The Princess*.** By JOHN KILLHAM. Pp. x+300. London: Athlone Press, 1958. 35s. net.

It is a sign of the times that one must begin by remarking that this is a scholarly book on a Victorian subject which is not written by an American. Instead of gazing enviously at the staggering new 'Harvard Hoard' of Tennyson poetic manuscripts and other papers and succumbing to the defeatist thought that the responsibility for serious work on the text and interpretation of Tennyson has now been taken out of English hands, Mr. Killham reminds us what may still be achieved by a careful and detailed study of poetic background from printed sources. For this reason his book is welcome, and welcome again as the first substantial study in this country for many years of one of Tennyson's longer poems. Suppressing the feeling that the first of such studies should have been devoted to *In Memoriam* or *Maud*, which are Tennysonian successes, it is fair to recognize that Mr. Killham's particular type of investigation may be best suited to such an extraordinary 'medley' as *The Princess*, and that it allows him room to comment helpfully on many other poems. Critically speaking, he sees *The Princess* as 'the poetic counterpart of the problem-pictures we see at the Royal Academy' (p. 3), disavows any intention of saluting it as 'an overlooked masterpiece', and concludes on his last page that a main purpose of understanding it in its contemporary context is that we may be 'better able to enjoy those of Tennyson's poems which . . . live . . . on . . . as part of the canon of great art' (p. 278). This is clearly a modest and sensible claim (even if we share Mr. Graves's dislike of the term 'great'), but Mr. Killham does not quite escape ambiguity in making it. He also hopes to show that *The Princess* is 'a great deal more valuable than some estimates have allowed' (p. 2). Here one would expect 'valuable' to mean 'valuable poetically'—and I suspect Mr. Killham does mean this—but of course the poetic worth of *The Princess* is unaffected by showing, for example, that Tennyson's views on marriage and the education of women are less blindly conventional than was once suspected. The estimates of the poetic value of *The Princess* some thirty years ago were never very badly out. The failure of the critics at that time, as Mr. Killham demonstrates, lay in their lack of appreciation both of Tennyson's real intentions and of the mixture of the conventional and the unusual in what he actually said.

Mr. Killham subtitles his study 'Reflections of an Age'. His twelve chapters include an introduction and a conclusion, and no fewer than six of them discuss the 'woman question' in the context of Saint-Simonianism, Owenite ideas, the Mechanics' Institutes and the problems of popular education, 'Feminism at Cambridge', &c. Much of this material is of the greatest interest, though some of it sits pretty loosely to the interpretation—even in the most elastic sense of that

word—of *The Princess*. Chapters viii to xi bring us more to grips with the poem. Mr. Killham distinguishes properly between theme and story. If the theme is to be found in the contemporary discussion of marriage and the higher education of women, which Tennyson seeks to connect with the perspective of human history opened by evolutionary ideas (see Chapter xi), the story is thought to be derived (1) from the Persian tale of the Chinese Princess Tourandocte, who—like the Persian princess to whom the whole cycle of tales is told—has a deep aversion to marriage, and (2) from the story of Ferokh-Faul of Jonathan Scott's *Bahar-Danush, or Garden of Knowledge* (1799). (Tennyson may have come across both tales—the second in the form of a résumé—in Henry Weber's *Tales of the East* (1812).) Mr. Killham rests these identifications on 'the internal evidence' of a 'surely remarkable parallelism' (p. 210). He holds, too, that some elements of the story presented in *The Princess* had a special, almost obsessional, interest for Tennyson and supports this view by reference to other poems including *Maud*. The Prologue and Conclusion are shown to be analogous in some respects to the 'frames' provided for the *Arabian Nights* and the *Persian Tales*: Tennyson was proud of his ingenuity and Mr. Killham explains why among other things the Prologue takes in a party of undergraduates, a Mechanics' Festival, and the 'Huge Ammonites, and the first bones of Time' collected by the Vivian family. Looking back over the wide sweep of a complicated argument, which might have been shorter and more immediately convincing if tendencies to digress and to accumulate evidence beyond necessity had been more strictly curbed, one readily allows that Mr. Killham has made out a good case. At three or four points the argument appears to be strained and the tone of a special pleader comes into the writing, notably, I feel, in the importance given to J. H. Kemble's article in *The British and Foreign Review* (July 1838), but fortunately we are not dealing with a house of cards liable to collapse if a single card is removed. In recommending a useful and informative book to students of early-Victorian literature, it is only fair to warn readers that they may have to work hard at times to follow the drift of the discussion.

KENNETH ALLOTT

**Arnold and the Romantics.** By WILLIAM A. JAMISON. Pp. 168 (Anglistica 10). Copenhagen: Rosenkilde and Bagger, 1958. Kr. 25.00.

A question-mark now overhangs Arnold's discussions of early nineteenth-century poetry, of which this study (of Arnold on Wordsworth, Byron, Keats, Shelley, and Coleridge, in that order of Arnold's own ranking) reflects the full size. On the one hand we learn, in the preface, that 'Arnold's criticism of [these poets] is probably more valuable to us for what it reveals about Arnold than for what it tells us about his subjects'; on the other, in the conclusion, that 'Arnold's judgment of the English Romantic poets reveals his true stature as a critic'. If 'true' means 'full' stature, the latter is surely a misjudgement. Arnold is good on Wordsworth, much less so on Byron and Keats, while on the poetry of Shelley and Coleridge he says hardly anything that was not better unsaid. This causes Mr. Jamison's five central chapters of approximately equal

length—one on each poet—to differ greatly in value and interest, while in the last two a considerable element of repetition and speculation was probably unavoidable. The opening proposal 'to evaluate Arnold's powers as a critic of literature' has thus, we feel, been invalidated by the incompleteness of the test. A secondary aim, to relate his judgements to the Victorian critical background, complicates the issue, though it also brings together in a convenient form much matter worth having on Victorian thinking about the poetry of the previous age. This undoubtedly justifies the volume, as does the well-ordered and well-pondered presentation of Arnold's own pronouncements.

The viewing of Arnold in this manner against the Victorian critical scene results in an unmistakably clear credit balance only in the case of Wordsworth. Here Mr. Jamison finds that 'perhaps the greatest service which Arnold performed for Wordsworth was . . . to rescue the poet from the moral philosopher without falling into the aestheticism which was implied in Pater's view'. Though he greatly undervalued 'The Prelude', no other Victorian so manifestly kept his head, through the Byron and Tennyson vogues, in constancy to his persuasion of Wordsworth's easy supremacy in English nineteenth-century poetry. The concluding three paragraphs of this chapter unduly belittle Wordsworth's present-day value: to say that 'perhaps, at best, [Wordsworth's poetry] can provide only a momentary diversion from our vision of reality, which is about all that Arnold claimed for it' is hardly just to either writer. Considerable light is thrown on the complexities in Arnold's attitude to Byron, especially by relating this to his social criticism in one direction and to *On the Study of Celtic Literature* in another; but the concluding quotation, from Crane Brinton, must leave us uneasy: Byron, it says, was ranked above Keats and Shelley 'not because of the excellence of his poetry, but because of his sincere and courageous attempt to find a solution for the difficulties of man in society'. The inadequacies of Arnold's response to Keats, Shelley, and Coleridge (especially the last two) are among the more disturbing features of his criticism; the chapter on Coleridge, especially, is felt as excrement, since Arnold nowhere gives him extended consideration and is virtually silent on his poetry: indeed, it might have been better to limit the body of the inquiry to Wordsworth, Byron, and perhaps Keats, with the two others appearing in introductory or end matter.

There are some questionable representations of Arnold. He did not intend his Wordsworth volume as 'a definitive edition of the works' (p. 55). To say without qualification that he believed in 'a soulless universe' is to make a large assumption (pp. 57, 94). The two quotations from Byron's verse in the middle of p. 77 are differentiated in quality by Arnold. He must have 'discovered positive value in Keats' treatment of external nature' well before the 1860's, from the evidence at least of 'The Scholar Gipsy' (p. 84). To deduce a charge of intellectual weakness against Keats's poetry from the early references in Arnold is doubtfully legitimate (p. 88). It is not clear what meaning attaches to 'moral force' and 'sense of the supernal', qualities which Arnold is said to have found in Keats (pp. 93-94). Arnold's reference to Shelley's 'respectable' Oxford background is strangely misinterpreted (pp. 113-14). The book lacks an index.

J. P. CURGENVEN

**Origins: A Short Etymological Dictionary of Modern English.** By ERIC PARTRIDGE. Pp. xx+970. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1958. £4. 10s. net.

Eschewing the bleak doctrine of Professor A. S. C. Ross in his recently published *Etymology* ('an etymology cannot ever be matter for discussion between a philologist and a non-philologist', p. 69), Mr. Partridge plainly regards the science of etymology as something within the reach of every man. *Origins*, like Albert Dauzat's *Dictionnaire étymologique*, is 'destiné au grand public'.

The dictionary is arranged in three sections. First, there is the dictionary proper in which, under an alphabetical arrangement and with the aid of cross-references, words which are etymologically related are grouped together for discussion (as *wether*, *veal*, *vellum*, *veteran*, *veterinary*, &c., under *wether*). This drastic rearrangement of the material will no doubt please some users of the dictionary and not others: for some purposes the conventional strict alphabetical arrangement throughout is more useful, for others it may not be. The main part of the dictionary is followed by a section containing the main affixes, and by another containing a large group of 'Elements' (combining forms), as *all(o)-*, *dendr(o)-*, &c. At the beginning is a page and a half of directions to readers (to which is added a discreditable footnote which could with advantage be deleted in future editions), and a brief Foreword in which Mr. Partridge says that he has treated 'a certain number of words . . . that, little known in Britain, form part of the common currency of Standard English as it is spoken and written in the United States of America, Canada, South Africa, Australia, New Zealand, India and Pakistan'—a tall order indeed!—and has 'concentrated upon civilization rather than upon science and technology; dialect and cant have been ignored; slang is represented only by a very few outstanding examples (e.g., *phoney*)'. (In fact *phoney* seems to have been overlooked.) There is no further elaboration of editorial policy or of etymological theory, and we must therefore turn to the entries themselves to discover the principles and methods adopted by the editor.

From an analysis of words beginning with *b* it emerged that, for this letter at any rate, Mr. Partridge's three main sources were M. O'C. Walshe's *Concise German Etymological Dictionary*, Weekley's *Concise Etymological Dictionary of Modern English*, and Bloch and von Wartburg's *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue française*, in other words the *abridged* versions of larger dictionaries by the same editors, or, in the case of Walshe, a concise dictionary instead of a larger independent one (Kluge-Götze). The names of these etymologists are given after those entries in *Origins* in which their views coincide with those of Mr. Partridge. The main result of this procedure is that if those who consult *Origins* are not to gain an impression of an astonishing contribution to English etymological scholarship by the compilers of these three small works, they will constantly need to bear in mind that the naming of an authority here normally signifies that 'these facts, forms, &c., may also be found in X', and not that X was the 'first finder' of the etymology given. Thus because '(Walshe.)' appears after the entry for *bare*, it is not to be taken to mean that Mr. Walshe was the first to assign E. *bare* (G. *bar*) to IE. \**bhos-*. Perhaps no one will be misled by such obvious cases,

but in others there is real danger of the obscuration of the crucial role played in the history of English etymology by *O.E.D.* above all other works. One example will have to suffice. Under *bastard*, the view that the base is PGmc. \**bansti* 'granary, barn' (Go. *bansts*) is attributed to Bloch and von Wartburg, and it is added that 'Dauzat prefers to interpret *bast* as OF *bast*, F *bat* [*sic*, no accent], a packsaddle: "son, or daughter, begotten on a packsaddle", after the fashion among muleteers'. It is hardly apparent from this that the view attributed to Dauzat is also that of *O.E.D.*; and that the 'granary' suggestion was first made by Hans Sperber in *Språkvetenskapliga Sällskapet i Uppsala Förhandlingar 1906-1909*.

It is of interest to observe what etymologists judge to be the indispensable minimum of information needed for the etymological treatment of a word. Skeat considered it relevant to provide: (1) the name of the text, and frequently even the context itself, in which the word first appeared in English; or, if this seemed inessential for any reason, at least the century in which a word was first recorded. (2) For native words, the principal Germanic cognates, and, fairly sparingly, remoter analogues (Avestan, Lithuanian, &c.) when they threw light on the ulterior etymology of English words. (3) The present-day meaning of the words treated and the chronology of sense-developments (naturally very briefly).

Mr. Partridge's conventions are different. The only temporal divisions regularly provided in *Origins* are 'OE' and 'ME'; nearly all post-1500 words are left undated (*babu*, *baccalaureate*, &c), surely a most regrettable omission. Germanic cognates are provided, much as in Skeat, but greater prominence is given to the more distant analogues, in a manner which will surely baffle the majority of the public for whom the dictionary was designed. The present-day meanings of words are usually omitted, presumably as being 'self-evident', and only rarely is the chronology of sense-development provided (as that of *banal*—but here it would have been more helpful to give the chronology of the senses in English rather than of those in French, if both could not be given). The usefulness of such information to an etymological treatment of a word may be illustrated by the fact that the word *bagatelle* in the sense 'trifle' came into English in the seventeenth century; the ball-game of that name, first played in the nineteenth century, owes nothing to French influence. None of this is shown in Mr. Partridge's entry for the word.

In such a dictionary omissions are inevitable; even so the number of ordinary words omitted from the letter *b* is surprising. Thus I have been unable to find *badminton*, *bairn*, *baize*, *bakelite*, *balderdash*, *ballerina*, *baobab*, *barbican*, *barium*, *barnacle*, *bassoon*, *bergamot*, *beriberi*, *blarney*, *bloomer*, *bollard*, *booth*, *bridge* (cards), *bubonic*, and *bumion*. Perhaps some of them are buried under other lemmata, and it is a cross-reference that is lacking.

'La science étymologique est éminemment complexe', but one way to make it seem less so is to indicate certainty where none exists, as under *ballyhoo*, *cocktail*, *feud*<sup>2</sup>, *lay*<sup>2</sup>, &c. For *bad*, *beach*, and other words, far-fetched Celtic origins are proposed. Somewhat wild, or at best unconvincing, suggestions are made under *bamboozle*, *banter*, *barren*, *blizzard*, *blot*, and, of other than *b*-words, under *yule*.

Yet despite these shortcomings, it is clear that those who admire Mr. Partridge's other dictionaries will not fail to regard this one in a favourable light.



What is the secret of it all? Undoubtedly one reason is that *Origins* has been published at a time when the English etymological garden lies comparatively untended, for Skeat is in many respects outmoded and the large Weekley is out of print. Another is that Mr. Partridge has gathered, albeit usually from intermediate sources, a considerable amount of material not to be found in Skeat or Weekley. But there is a further clue in the wording of Mr. Partridge's dedication of his edition of Grose's *Classical Dictionary of the Vulgar Tongue* to 'Professor Ernest Weekley, an etymologist who—as brilliant as he is entertaining—invests a remarkable erudition with the charm of fiction'. These are the qualities to which the writer of that dedication aspires, and which his own disciples will find in *Origins*.

R. W. BURCHFIELD

**The Oxford Companion to French Literature.** Compiled and edited by Sir PAUL HARVEY and J. E. HESELTINE. Pp. x+772. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1959. 45s. net.

This book takes its place in a distinguished series which was inaugurated by the volume on English literature compiled and edited by the late Sir Paul Harvey. In this latest volume most of the articles covering the period from A.D. 400 to the end of the eighteenth century have been contributed by Sir Paul, while Mrs. Janet Heseltine, who saw the work through the press after his death, has been responsible for the period from the Revolution to the outbreak of the 1939-45 war (though some references go as far as 1957). The names of the editors, and of the numerous English and French helpers mentioned in the preface, are a guarantee of the scholarship, critical sense, and good taste that characterize this production.

As might be expected, most of the space is devoted to authors and specific works; but the 6,000 or so entries also give concise and reliable information about painters, musicians, philosophers, kings, generals, statesmen, scientists, savants, saints, social reformers, and eccentrics; literary characters, terms, schools, and movements; celebrated places, events, and institutions. All readers will be grateful for this impressive range and variety of information. Some, however, will be conscious of a certain lack of balance, which results mainly from the editors' wish to help those who 'want to recall a plot'. There are, in fact, so many summaries of plays (all of Racine's) and of novels (sixteen of Zola's) that one finds oneself remembering E. M. Forster's sad comment: 'Yes—oh dear yes—the novel tells a story.' A tendency to indulge in anecdote is evident in the biographical sections. Do we really need to know, for example, that when Rimbaud ran away to Paris 'he was arrested at the station for travelling without a ticket'? Yet when so much of this kind of detail is given one does expect to be told, under *Lettres persanes*, the names of the 'two Persians'—for Montesquieu's Rica and Usbek are surely as deserving of mention as Anatole France's M. Bergeret and his dog Riquet. And, despite the assurance in the preface that 'length does not necessarily denote importance', one is conscious of a lack of proportion when Simenon is given as much space as Marivaux, Cocteau twice as much as Thibaudet, and Alain three times as much as Sartre.



There are, inevitably, omissions; and no reviewer can refrain from the somewhat perverse pleasure of pointing out a few of them. Ranging over the centuries, one notes the absence of Marcabru (or Marcabrun), the Provençal troubadour who wrote the first known *pastourelle* (though *pastourelle* itself is given); Nicolas Flamel, the fourteenth-century Parisian alchemist; Chassignet, the seventeenth-century poet (yet his contemporaries La Ceppède and Sponde are included); Aristide Bruant (there is no rubric *chansonniers*); and Paul Gérauld, whose *Toi et Moi* achieved notoriety and represents a type of 'littérature'.

In a companion to literature it is natural that painters and musicians should receive less attention than other creative artists. But, to take only a few random examples, whereas Picasso, Utrillo, Suzanne Valadon, Debussy, and Chabrier have notices in their own right, Braque, Rouault, Dufy, and Satie are referred to only incidentally; and Chagall, Berthe Morisot, Marie Laurencin, and Chausson are not mentioned at all. And surely a place should have been found for other kinds of artists such as Loïe Fuller, the ballet dancer mentioned by Mallarmé; and La Goulue, who appears in Toulouse-Lautrec's paintings and in a poem by Cocteau. In the realm of folk-lore, popular song, and fancy we are given Fanfan-la-Tulipe, Cadet Rousselle, and Lustucru, but we look in vain for Jean-François-les-Bas-Bleus, La Mère Michel, La Madelon, and Les Pieds Nickelés.

The lack of balance is particularly evident when we come to the present time. Here, it is true, the *Companion* does not claim to be a guide, but even so some of the omissions—and some of the inclusions—reveal a serious gap in literary knowledge and appreciation. One is, for instance, surprised to find that while separate articles are given to Audiberti, Queneau, Prévert, and Pierre Emmanuel, there is no mention of Desnos, Ponge, Antonin Artaud, and André Frénaud. Turning from people to other subjects, one observes that there is no reference to the following places which have become famous through their associations with writers and artists: Le Moulin de la Galette and Le Moulin Rouge, Le Cirque Médrano and Le Cirque Fernando, Le Lapin Agile, Le Bateau-Lavoir, and Chatou.

There are many helpful definitions of literary and artistic terms, but these do not include: *berceuse*, *paraphrase*, *transposition d'art*, *facétie*, *sottisier*, *baroque*, *côté cour*, and *côté jardin*. It is unfortunate that the section on the *sonnet*, which might well have been longer, should contain an incorrect statement about such an elementary matter as the rhyme-scheme, and that in the notice *rime riche* the editors should have made the same mistake that has been made by generations of schoolchildren (*Le Vers français* by Maurice Grammont might have been consulted).

The inaccuracies, however, are, on the whole, few and the reservations are mostly minor ones. The *Oxford Companion to French Literature* justifies its claim to be comprehensive, if not complete, and it will undoubtedly prove to be an indispensable work of reference not only for the general reader but also for the specialist. There are two appendixes, one of which consists of a most useful six-page list of background material and of books for further reference and reading.

C. A. HACKETT

## SHORT NOTICES

**The Works of Edmund Spenser. A Variorum Edition. Index.** Compiled by Charles Grosvenor Osgood. Pp. x+126. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1957. 28s. net.

I do not quite know how one reviews an index. Doubtless there are technical tests which might be applied by professional experts; but no theory could provide a compiler with the blue-print for indexing that bewildering mosaic of commentaries which is the Johns Hopkins Spenser. Professor Osgood has found the formula: the making of an index 'is, in fact, a work of imagination and memory. At every entry the compiler must stretch his imagination to include every reason, however curious, which a reader might have for consulting that entry.' It is to be hoped that anyone who consults the Index will read the brief and modest Preface in which these words occur. For this, no more than the edition itself, is to be placed before beginners. It is primarily an index to the commentaries; but it will long be an invaluable resource to students of Spenser who know him and his principal critics well enough, and who have long enough passed their apprenticeship to letters to use it without being encouraged to think of 'research' as the worrying-out of specific points without adequate comprehension of their surroundings. Such entries as those on 'The Fairie Queene' and 'Spenser'—to mention only two of the longest—are like small-scale maps crowded with detail, immensely useful and curiously stimulating to those who already know their way about, and problems—though problems well worth puzzling over—to those who do not.

Mr. Osgood has given us another of those large and elaborate works for which he has such peculiar gifts, which one cannot imagine oneself having the courage or stamina to tackle, and for which we can only offer him our admiring gratitude. In doing so, we must also offer him warm congratulations on his placing the final pinnacle on that vast and complex structure of which he has been the inspiration and the guiding genius. It is not everyone who sees his vision so completely embodied and we are glad for his sake as well as for our own and for that of his beneficiaries present and future.

W. L. RENWICK

**The True Tragedy of Richard Duke of York (Henry the Sixth, Part III) 1595.** Edited by SIR WALTER GREG. Pp. viii+80 (Shakespeare quarto facsimiles 11). Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1958. 25s. net.

This facsimile is made from the only recorded copy, that in the Bodleian, where it is press-marked 'Malone 876' although in fact it never belonged to Malone but was the property of George Chalmers, who had bought it at the sale of Dr. Samuel Pegge's library in 1796.

The original is clear and so is the facsimile, being a great improvement on the Prætorius facsimile issued in 1891. Sir Walter Greg notes that owing to the tightness of binding there is some distortion of lines in the facsimile towards the inner margin but this nowhere affects the readability of the text. He also comments on the show-through in the last sheet. It is perhaps most noticeable in this sheet but it is evident throughout the facsimile, although here again it is never any impediment to easy reading.

There is a list of 42 'putative readings' and this—in contrast to the list given in *Love's Labour's Lost* 1598—seems a little overdone. At any rate a check of the first 21 would indicate that there can hardly be the slightest doubt about them except possibly of *out* at C3<sup>v</sup>/17 and *marrie* at C5<sup>v</sup>/13, and that there may be a point after *Sould* at C2<sup>v</sup>/20. However, it would be wrong to criticize excessive caution in a bibliographical work of this kind.

References are given to the lines of the Globe edition (1891) of the Folio text: lines which correspond to nothing in the Folio text are marked with a cross.

J. H. P. PAFFORD

**Narrative and Dramatic Sources of Shakespeare.** Edited by GEOFFREY BULLOUGH. Vol. II. The Comedies, 1597-1603. Pp. xiv+544. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1958. 45s. net.

The wonder grows that we were ever able to discourse informatively upon this important theme before Professor Bullough undertook to provide his inestimable volumes. At the present rate of progress we shall have all six in another three or four years, and it will be hard to deny that they constitute the most useful adjunct to Shakespearian scholarship published since the war.

In this second volume six comedies are disposed of, in more than five hundred pages; the material is copious enough to satisfy all ordinary needs, and will save many hours of work in the remoter corners of libraries. For *Twelfth Night*, to give one example, we are provided with the whole of *Gl'Ingannati*, in a version by Mr. Bullough himself, as a 'probable source'; then there is an extract from Secchi's *Gl'Inganni* ('analogue'), a summary of *L'Interesse* ('analogue'), a long section of Riche's *Farewell to Militarie Profession* ('source'), parts of Forde's *Famous History of Parismus* ('possible source'), and two brief 'probable historical sources'. The section occupies just over a hundred pages, including the deft introduction. Mr. Bullough has clearly shirked no pains in writing his introductory essays; the one prefaced to the *As You Like It* section (mostly Lodge, of course) is an excellent essay on the play, and goes much beyond what would have merely sufficed. Perhaps only those readers who have kept up with the recent intensive study of the sources of *Measure for Measure* and *Much Ado* will properly value the scholarly effort that is concealed by the orderliness of the sections on these plays. Altogether this is a book it would be difficult to fault; and the bibliography is an added grace.

When Mr. Bullough comes, in his final volume, to deal with the more general problems arising out of the study of sources, he may have more to say of this second volume than of any other; if *As You Like It* is easy, at least three of the other plays are among the most difficult from this point of view. The skill with which the relevant material is here presented encourages the hope that the concluding essay will be of remarkable interest, a fitting crown for this most valuable work.

FRANK KERMODE

**Donne's Imagery.** By MASOOD-UL-HASAN. Pp. iv+96. Aligarh, India: Faculty of Arts, Muslim University, 1958.

Although this book is rich in typographical error, and although its author's English is not faultless, it deserves mention as an attempt to study Donne's imagery by reference to its subject-matter, and to relate the findings to the life and thought of the poet. The method is inspired more by Caroline Spurgeon than by Rosemond Tuve, but Mr. Hasan's concentration on the 'personal' distinctiveness of Donne's images is not based on a rejection of their rhetorical fitness. M. A. Rugoff's broader survey (1939) is not mentioned; the present book supplements it with a few original speculations.

'The stream of Donne's imagery,' says Mr. Hasan, 'had a variegated and vast catchment-area.' His study classifies the segments of this catchment-area under the main headings of Sex, Science, Religion, Law, War, Death and Disease, Arts and Crafts, Money and Trade, Superstitions, and the Five Senses. Since the emphasis is on the subject-matter, one could wish the treatment had been fuller, and all the evidence taken into account; there are too many omissions for a genuinely quantitative or statistical approach. No comment is made, for example, either under images of death or under images of the sea, on the remarkable passage describing the beheaded man in *The Second Anniversary* (lines 9-17). But Mr. Hasan has some quite interesting things to say, especially with regard to Donne's 'sex-mysticism', and in his discussion of the synaesthetic, quasi-symbolist imagery that appears when 'images belonging to one particular area of human experience were intergrafted with those belonging to other areas, and sometimes were transplanted and shifted to even the non-aligned areas of thought and sense'. Mr. Hasan

examines the subtle implications of passages like that in *Elegie IV* (lines 51-56) where Donne addresses the perfume as 'thou bitter sweet', and the image in *Epithalamion* (lines 7-11) of the 'easie liquid jawe' of suddenly unfrozen ocean-routes. To Donne, the author claims, 'all knowledge and sensations were coherent and co-related phases of the total flux of his experience'.

EDWIN MORGAN

**FitzGerald's Rubáiyát.** Centennial Edition edited by CARL J. WEBER. Pp. 160. Waterville, Maine: Colby College Press, 1959. \$6.25.

Professor Weber believes that 'it is not at all unlikely that posterity may judge FitzGerald's *Rubáiyát* to be the most important literary product of the Victorian era' (p. 33). Many readers will fear that this is an extravagant hope; but perhaps they will not object very strongly to its expression by the editor of a centennial publication.

For Mr. Weber the preparation of this volume has evidently been a work of piety and love. In his introduction he describes the composition of the poem and gives a fuller account than is available elsewhere of its propagation after being entirely ignored on its first appearance. He shows that the man who picked up the crucial penny copy of the *Rubáiyát* from a bargain-box in front of Bernard Quaritch's shop was neither D. G. Rossetti nor Swinburne but a young Celtic scholar named Whitley Stokes. The poets learned of the work only through this perceptive philologist. The first edition of 1859 provides Mr. Weber with his text. In his notes he records the changes, often unwise, which FitzGerald subsequently made. His notes also contain explanations of allusions and a number of critical tributes to the poem. Some of these quoted tributes are of a general nature and have no special relevance to the lines to which they are appended; and one of the more specific of them has been attached to quatrain xviii instead of quatrain xix. Mr. Weber adds a descriptive list of copies of the 1859 edition now in American libraries; and Mr. James Humphry supplies 'A Check-List of the *Rubáiyát* Collection now in the Colby College Library'. This checklist supplements appreciably the bibliography of the *Rubáiyát* compiled thirty years ago by A. G. Potter.

Designer, printer, and binder have collaborated with editor and bibliographer to make this a handsome as well as a useful volume and one worthy to mark the centenary of the poem's first publication.

J. D. JUMP

**The Oxford Book of Irish Verse. XVIIth Century-XXth Century.** Chosen by DONAGH MACDONAGH and LENNOX ROBINSON. Pp. xxxviii + 344. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1958. 21s. net.

That *The Oxford Book of Irish Verse* is an attractive rather than a great anthology is no doubt due to the very limited community from which it has been drawn. The poetry of Yeats, which is the most substantial body of work in it, does not seem to have quite the necessary vigour to give a heartbeat to it; and, in general, work either of a direct human appeal or which shows a great intensity of thought or feeling is lacking. Yet the standard of workmanship as a whole is high, and 'charm' is to be found on nearly every page. That this charm is a distinctively 'Irish charm' is surprising, for the editors (and Donagh MacDonagh, who writes the introduction, virtually confesses as much) have shown, not to say a grabbing spirit, an indifferent sense of property in their inclusions. One would think that the principle that admitted Swift among the Irish would exclude Emily Brontë, but not only can these great guns from the past be heard cannonading from far and near, but modern small-arms fire from such poets as C. Day Lewis and even Sir Arnold Bax has been called on to swell the tattoo. Prose extracts from Synge and Joyce have been

included too, with harmful effects, I think, on the passages themselves and on the anthology as a whole; for they have a precious look, and seem to suggest that novelty of expression rather than the shaping of an idea or experience is what is chiefly to be valued in verse and prose. Nevertheless, the collection has a character of its own, which in one way or another (through reference to Irish events or places, through the employment of specially Irish imagery, through a number of good translations from the Irish and the like) does seem peculiarly national. There are pages on which we get a superfluity of holy candles and mountains, books of prayer, donkey-carts and homespun jackets, but on the whole the local colour is of a less superficial kind. Among the poetry of the later writers that of F. R. Higgins stands out with a special liveliness. It is surely a pity that so little popular verse, like 'Galway Races', 'The Rakes of Mallow', 'The Night before Larry was Stretched', or 'Johnny, I hardly knew Ye', which are among the chief treasures of Lennox Robinson's *Golden Treasury of Irish Verse*, was admitted into this larger book; and why have both anthologies left out 'The Bells of Shandon', which is so notably Irish in authorship, subject, rhythm, and mood? It is surely a very temporary 'change of taste' that rejects such a poem from among the best that Ireland has produced. *The Oxford Book of Irish Verse*, however, gathers together much fine poetry, not all of which is easy to come by, and is worth the purchase not only of Irish people but of all lovers of lyric poetry.

J. W. R. PURSER

**Textual Criticism.** By PAUL MAAS. Translated by BARBARA FLOWER. Pp. x+60. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1958. 12s. 6d. net.

An English version of this masterly little work is warmly to be welcomed. The detailed illustrations are classical, but the principles are of general application; the last two paragraphs of §16 have obvious relevance to the editing of Shakespeare and to such special studies as compositor-analysis. And there is no lack of English scholars who need to be told that 'it is far more dangerous for a corruption to pass unrecognized than for a sound text to be unjustifiably attacked. For as every conjecture provokes refutation, this at all events advances our understanding of the passage, and only the best conjectures will win acceptance; on the other hand, the unnoticed corruption damages our total impression of the style, and anyone who fails to recognize a right conjecture lays himself open to the reproach of ingratitude, if not of envy' (p. 17).

The translator's task cannot have been an easy one, and if she sometimes fell back on paraphrase, Professor Maas's extraordinarily close-packed academic German often defies more literal rendering. When, for example, we read the admirable remark: 'We can sometimes be sure that a right reading in a text is right, even if it rests on conjecture; we can scarcely ever be sure that a corruption is one that could not have occurred' (pp. 13-14), let us spare some of our gratitude for the translator who was not afraid so to expand 'Kein Fehler ist so unmöglich, wie ein Text notwendig sein kann, selbst ein durch divination gefundener'. Of course there is sometimes loss (even, a little, in the above example). Thus the rearrangement at the end of p. 41 has sacrificed the point that Bentley misused his *ratio et res ipsa* in relation to the very passage that provoked it. There are slight inconsistencies in technical expressions: 'Sonderfehler' is normally 'peculiar' but occasionally 'special' error, and 'Leitfehler' normally 'indicative' but occasionally 'significant' error. A few other renderings, such as 'happen to make' (foot of p. 4) for 'may have made' are a little loose.

The second German edition is dated 1949 in the Preface: its own title-page gives '1950'. On p. 22, near the foot, the closing bracket after 'errors' should be after 'tradition'. The first *Symposium* reference on p. 39 should be 201c. On p. 40, *Polivkos* should not have a capital. In the index, under 'Fraenkel', read '31' for '51'.

J. C. MAXWELL

**Brno Studies in English.** Vol. I. Pp. 144 (Opera Universitatis Brunensis, Facultas Philosophica). Prague, 1959. Kčs 17,10.

**The Critical Quarterly.** Vol. I, No. 1. Pp. 80. Edited by C. B. Cox and A. E. DYSON. Hull: The University, 1959. 12s. per annum.

**Theatre Research. The Journal of the International Federation for Theatre Research.** Vol. I, No. 1. Pp. 64. Rome, 1958. Free to members or 12.50 Sw. Fr. per annum.

We welcome the first issues of three new journals.

From Prague comes *Brno Studies in English*, compiled under the auspices of the Faculty of Philosophy in Brno University. A foreword explains the aim of this interesting new series as 'to inform the wider public about the kind of work being done in the English Seminar' at Brno, and to present both linguistic and literary studies 'with particular regard to their importance for the actual, present-day period'. The articles are well printed in English, with summaries in Czech and Russian.

*The Critical Quarterly* is edited from Hull and Bangor, and means to concentrate its attention on twentieth-century literature (though by no means exclusively, if the first number is a guide). Poems are included, and the editors in their foreword describe the function of the kind of critic they would encourage as 'to assist rather than oppose the powerful and dangerous immaturities out of which truly creative writing, and reading, grow'. The contents of the opening number are too varied and non-polemical for any special 'character' to be discernible as yet.

*Theatre Research*, which is bilingual (English and French), should prove indispensable to students of the theatre. Some of the articles are handsomely illustrated. The British Editor is Glynne Wickham. General information about the Federation can be obtained from I. Kyrle Fletcher, 22 Buckingham Gate, London, S.W. 1.

Relevant articles in all three journals are listed in previous 'Summaries of Periodical Literature'.

E. M.  
J. A. M. R.

## SUMMARY OF PERIODICAL LITERATURE

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Notes of Two Coleridges (M. Bishop), 531-3.

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Dante's Belacqua and Beckett's Tramps (W. A. Strauss), 250-61.

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David Copperfield as Psychological Fiction (M. Spilka), 292-301.

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Edward Thomas (J. F. Danby), 308-17.

Look Back in Anger (A. E. Dyson), 318-26.

The Solitude of Virginia Woolf (C. B. Cox), 329-34.

*The Prelude* (B. Everett), 338-50.

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Mirror of a Shire: Tennyson's Dialect Poems (C. Wilson), 22-28.

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*The Water Babies*: Kingsley's Debt to Darwin (A. Johnston), 215-19.

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